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of
EARLY SOUTHERN
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May and November by
The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts

Dare I ask about the pot
Emptiness fills my mind
Lost is the day.

How to ask is here
Open your mind and center
Master knows the way.

—BLR

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Editor's Preface:

Since the early 1970s, Brad Rauschenberg, MESDA's Director of Research, has done extensive research on Andrew Duche and John Bartlam, two of the Low Country's earliest potters. In the May 1991 issue of the Journal, we featured Rauschenberg's histories of Duche and other Savannah River potters. It was our intention then to publish Bartlam's history in this issue, which we have done. However, while he was writing about Bartlam, Rauschenberg encountered a number of related stories that he felt should also be told. Therefore, not only do we present John Bartlam's history, but also articles on William Ellis of Hanley, the English and American search for kaolin among the Cherokee Indians, tile and brick manufacturing in the Low Country, and Charleston ceramic menders and repairers, all of which were written by Rauschenberg.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

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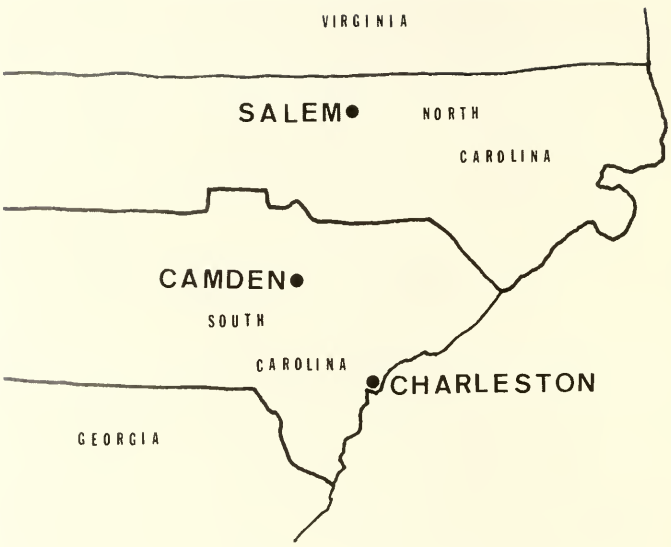


Figure 1. Map of North and South Carolina in 1783, which includes the locations of Charleston, Camden, and Salem. Line drawing by the author. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,445.

John Bartlam, Who Established "new Pottworks in South Carolina" and Became the First Successful Creamware Potter in America

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

On 16 July 1758, John Bartlam of Stoke-on-Trent Parish in Staffordshire witnessed the marriages of William Hollinshead and Sarah Myott and Thomas Wright and Hannah Finley.[1] This is the earliest known record of Bartlam, who was to become the first producer of creamware in America. He was born in 1735 or 1736, for he was twenty-four years old at the time of his marriage on 16 February 1760.[2] The nature of his training is unknown. He may have begun working as a potter by the time he was fifteen; in 1769 he claimed that he had been in the potting business for eighteen years.[3] On the day of his marriage, Bartlam, "of Lane Delph in the Parish of Stoke [fig. 2]" appeared before the Reverend R. Fenton in the Parish Church in Newcastle-under-Lyme and swore on the "holy Evangelists" that he was "a Potter & Batchelor aged abt. 24 Years & intends to marry with Mary Allen of Great Fenton in ye same Parish Spinster aged 21 Years & yt he knows of no impedim[en]t by reason of any Precontract entered into before 25th March 1754 [date of proclamation of intended marriage or banns]." His marriage license, dated the same day, also stated that he was twenty-four years old, a bachelor, and a potter, and that Mary was 21 and a spinster.[4]

There is a little more information on Mary previous to her marriage. She was born on 5 May 1738 in Trentham, three miles south of Stoke-on-Trent, and was baptized two days later. She was the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Allen, and she had a sister, Sarah, baptized 26 February 1736, and two brothers, Thomas and Henry, baptized 5 August 1739 and 27 April 1743, respectively.[5]

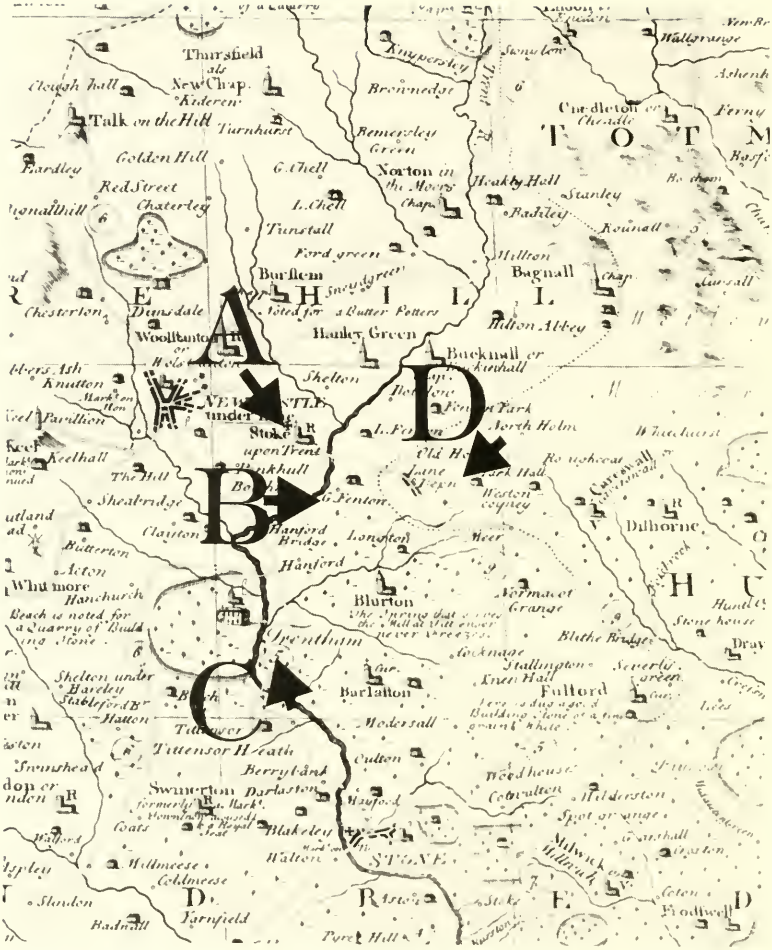


Figure 2. Detail of An Improved Map of the County of Stafford *by Emanuel Bowen, 1749. Stoke-on-Trent (A), Great Fenton (B), Trentham (C), and Lane Delph (D) are shown. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. MRF S-15,446.*

On 2 August 1761, the Bartlams' child (probably daughter) Honour was baptized.[6] About seven months later, on 14 January 1762, John Baddeley, a potter and a proprietor of a flint mill in Mothersall (Moddershall), just south of Stoke-on-Trent, wrote of Bartlam in a letter to Thomas Fletcher, a Newcastle-under-Lyme banker and mercer: "I sent this Morning to Bartlem [sic], but he was from home & not before Back till Tuesday as Soon as he Comes I will Endeavor to get the Money if I Can but am afraid he's obliged to Shuffle people with such Bills."[7] Bartlam bought flint from Baddeley between July 1761 and September 1762 but was unable to pay for it; it seems that he was having trouble with his finances.[8]

The Bartlams had another child, Betty Allen, in early 1763, and on 25 January 1763, she was baptized.[9] Shortly after the baptism and before March 1763, Bartlam left England for South Carolina (see Appendix 1). Monetary problems were probably the impetus for Bartlam's resolution to leave Staffordshire, most likely made before Betty Allen was baptized. According to another letter from Baddeley to Fletcher in March 1763, he discussed his plan with Baddeley: "I have just rec'd this with the Inclos'd Bill for £24 from Jos. Warburton, I hear Bartlem is gone of [sic] for good at Last So you have only Share to trust to, Thos Taylor and Carloss Wedgwood both promise to pay when they come from London."[10]

"Gone off for good at last" indicates that Bartlam's departure for the American colonies was not a sudden decision; instead, it seems he had been considering it for some time. According to Josiah Wedgwood, in *An Address to the Workmen in the Pottery, on the Subject of Entering into the Service of Foreign Manufactures*, published in Newcastle in 1783, Bartlam had received offers from South Carolina to set up a pottery there. Wedgwood also wrote that "Mr. Lymer's family (Mr. Bartlem's brother-in-law) with that of young Mr. Allen of Great Fenton (whose sister Mr. Bartlem married) son of the Rev. Mr. Allen and heir to a pretty estate," chose to take their families to join Bartlam.[11]

Wedgwood's *Address* was one of two pamphlets he published in 1783. A representative of the Staffordshire potteries in the House of Commons in 1783 as the treaties to end the American Revolution were being negotiated, Wedgwood turned pamphleteer to express his concern with America's new freedom and what it meant to the future survival of the Staffordshire potteries.[12] He devoted about three pages of his address to recounting, with satisfaction, Bartlam's early failures in South Carolina. Apparently, Bartlam's "colony," as

Wedgwood called them, departed from Bristol, ran into bad weather, and were shipwrecked near an island that Wedgwood was unable to identify.[13] They lost their ship and their belongings, and most of the sailors drowned. To complicate matters even more, Mrs. Lymer, pregnant at the time they left Staffordshire, gave birth to a child on the island after they were shipwrecked. Allen, impatient to get to their new home-to-be, set off from the island in a vessel headed for "Carolina" that he had found at the island. Wedgwood related that he was not heard from again. Lymer and his family finally made it to South Carolina where all but the newborn infant died not long after their arrival. Wedgwood claimed that a "Mr. Godwin" told him that his son was one of those solicited by Bartlam and that "they fell sick as they came, and all died quickly," with his son among them. It appears that Godwin may have also provided him with the information about the Lymer family and Allen. Another group of four potters, raised by Bartlam who returned from England for that purpose after the Lymers died, made it to South Carolina. One of the four, "William Ellis of Hanley," returned to England and was the source for that information. Aside from these, the names of the workers who first went to work with Bartlam as well as those who went later are not known.[14]

Information found in a Moravian record substantiated Ellis's role in the pottery attempts. The 8 December 1773 minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, the church body in charge of the material affairs, finances, trades, and professions, in Salem, North Carolina, reported: "In the evening we considered what we are to do about a stranger journeyman potter by the name of Ellis. He came here of his own accord with our wagon from Charleston and arrived today. He formerly was staying in Pinetree [Camden, South Carolina]."[15] (For a fuller account of Ellis, see "Escape from Bartlam: The History of William Ellis of Hanley" in this *Journal*.)

Wedgwood viewed Bartlam's plans to establish a pottery in America as a threat to English ceramic exports to America, possibly because he knew of Bartlam's capabilities, as well as those of the men who left to work for him. Wedgwood also knew that in America Bartlam had access to good "material there equal if not superior to our own for carrying on that Manufacture." In a 2 March 1765 letter to Sir William Meredith, a member of parliament from Liverpool and one of Wedgwood's backers, Wedgwood revealed his concerns:

> Permit me, Sir, just to mention a Circumstance of a more Public nature which greatly alarms us in this neighbourhood [Staffordshire]. The bulk of our particular Manufactures you know are exported to foreign markets, for our home consumption is very trifleing in comparison to what are sent abroad, the principal of these markets are the Continent and Islands of N. America. To the Continent we send an amazing quantity of white stoneware and some of the finer kinds, but for the Islands we cannot make anything too rich and costly. This trade to the Colonies we are apprehensive of loseing in a few years as they have set on foot some Potworks there already & have at this time an agent amongst us hireing a number of our hands for establishing new Pottworks in South Carolina, haveing got one of our insolvent Master Potters there [Bartlam] to conduct them, haveing material there equal if not superior to our own for carrying on that Manufacture; and as the necessaries &c of life and consequently of the price of Labour amongst are daily upon the advance, I make no question but more will follow them & join their Brother artists and Manufacturers of every Class who are from all quarters takeing a rapid flight indeed the same way![16]

Therefore, Wedgwood's account of what befell Bartlam's group is somewhat questionable. It is obvious that he received the information second- or third-hand, and there were undoubtedly errors in the story. Wedgwood had much to gain by exaggerating Bartlam's problems, and it is possible that he did not tell Bartlam's story in proper sequence. His mentions of Lymer and "Young Allen" are also vague. His identification of Lymer as Bartlam's brother-in-law is puzzling, especially since, at that time, a step-brother was often called a brother-in-law. Lymer could have been Bartlam's step-brother, or he could have married Bartlam's sister, if Bartlam had a sister. It is also possible that Lymer had married one of Mary's sisters. It is interesting, however, that Wedgwood made a distinction between Lymer and Allen. He called Lymer Bartlam's brother-in-law, but he stated that Bartlam had married Allen's sister. If Wedgwood's statement that Allen was heir to an estate was true, it is possible that he was Thomas Allen, the elder of Mary's two brothers and the most likely to inherit an estate.

Thus, if Wedgwood's account is reliable, Bartlam and his family went to Charleston between February and March 1763, and when Bartlam was sure of his venture and after locating land, clay, and fuel, he encouraged the Lymer group to move to Charleston, perhaps about 1765. The exact date of Bartlam's arrival in Charleston is not known. The Records of the Public Treasurer of South Carolina from 1762-65 were examined to see if Bartlam was listed as a recipient from the fund for new settlers, and his name did not appear on any of the lists. However, it appears that before 29 September 1763, individual recipients of cash from the fund for new settlers were not listed, therefore, it is conceivable that Bartlam may have received cash from the fund before that date.[17]

Wedgwood's 2 March 1765 letter to Sir William Meredith indicated that Bartlam was in South Carolina at that time. A few months later, the 21 to 28 September 1765 Charleston *South Carolina Gazette* carried the following encouraging editorial: "We are informed, that a gentleman, lately from England, who has lately set up a Pottery about 9 miles from this, has met with so good clay for the purpose, that he scarce doubts his ware's exceeding that of Delft: He purposes to make every kind of Earthen Ware that is usually imported from England, and as it will be sold cheaper, he cannot fail to meet with encouragement." Apparently Bartlam was trying to produce the ceramics he had been trained to make, particularly creamware, Staffordshire's major export. The statement that he scarce doubted his ware's exceeding that of Delft suggests that he also may have initially tried to produce tin-glazed ware and then shifted to creamware based on clay accessibility. As a skilled potter he would have an awareness of clay types and, after considerable tests, he was probably able to produce a ceramic similar to creamware from the local clays. This would be the logical assumption; however, it is possible that the search for the Cherokee clay may have led Bartlam to try his hand at making porcelain.[18]

The "set up a pottery 9 miles from this" is a reference to the small village of Cain Hoy located on a bend of the west bank of the Wando River nine miles from Charleston (fig. 3). Cain Hoy was the site of the original St. Thomas's Parish church in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis. Information concerning Cain Hoy is scarce. In 1735-36 there was a search for a teacher for a school being built there; all interested were to contact "Lewis Dutarque or Mr. Michael Darby [Clerk of Court of Wando Precinct], living at the Upper-part of Caneboy [sic]."[19]

Figure 3. Detail of A Map of the Province of South Carolina. . . . *by James Cook, 1773, London. Charleston (A) and Cain Hoy (B) are shown. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. MRF S-15,447.*

On 29 January 1766 Bartlam signed a promissory note to Robert Daniel for £90 South Carolina currency.[20] The reason for this advance or credit is not known; however, it may have been for rent of some of Daniel's land. Daniel (d. 1787) was a planter with considerable land holdings in St. Thomas Parish, as well as surrounding parishes.[21] His will revealed that his wife, Elizabeth, had life use of a lot in Ansonborough and a "plantation at Cainhoy on Wando River, being two tracts containing in the whole four hundred acres."[22] The 4 May 1790 inventory of his "Cain Hoy" plantation did not describe the location of this land.[23] The *City Gazette or Daily Advertiser* for 6 June 1791 advertised the sale of two other plantations of Robert Daniel's: Bull Head and Malliott. There are no records of Bartlam's owning any property at that time; therefore, at Cain Hoy, he apparently was allowed to establish a kiln, cut wood, dig clay, and not only house himself but his family and workers on someone else's property. It could have been Daniel's, but it also could have been three adjacent tracts of land owned separately by the merchants and importers Andrew Robertson, John Jamieson, and George Baillie, who together made up the firm of Robertson, Jamieson, and Company. Their holdings faced the north side of the Wando below Cain Hoy, south of an unnamed creek at the entrance of which is Racoon Island, north of Beresford's Creek and Daniel's Island.[24] This possibility was strengthened by an unusual inland bill of exchange dated 24 July 1767: "£67.15.11 Cain Hoy. . . . Gent. At Thirty days after sight please to Mr. Robert Daniell on his order the sum of sixty-seven pounds fifteen shillings and eleven pence Current Money of this province for value received and place it to the account of the Gent. To Messrs. Robertson, Jameison & Co.— Your most Hble. Sert. John Bartlam." The relationship between Bartlam and Robertson, Jamieson, and Company is a mystery, but it may have been related to their Cain Hoy property. There also has been speculation that they sponsored Bartlam's passage to South Carolina.[25]

For several years there has been a search for the site of Bartlam's Cain Hoy manufactory; however, to date, the actual location has eluded researchers. The investigation has been hindered by the large number of brick kiln and habitation sites in the areas adjacent to the Wando River and its adjoining creeks. Eighteenth-century newspaper notices indicate that Cain Hoy's clay was particularly suitable for brickmaking. In 1753 "a kiln of brick at Cainhoy ready for burning" was advertised, and in 1763 an announcement of land for sale in St. Thomas's parish described the property as adjoining

"Beresford's Bounty (or more properly the Free-School) . . . only one mile distant from the parish-church, not far from Cainhoy meeting . . . good shade for making bricks, very good clay, and plenty of wood to burn." This land apparently bordered, to the south, part of Robert Daniel's land.[26] These advertisements indicating the abundance of clay in the Cain Hoy area may have been what led Bartlam to set up his kiln there. During the final preparation of this article, an important discovery was made on the land once held by Robertson, Jamieson, and Baillie which strongly suggests that their property may have been the site of Bartlam's kiln. The results of the find will be discussed later.

Bartlam's connection with Daniel did not end with the loan of £90, for on 1 May 1766 Bartlam failed to repay the promissory note. However, legal action was not taken until 5 April 1768.[27] Meanwhile, Bartlam continued his pottery work as well as his accumulation of debts. At some point after 24 July 1767, Robertson, Jamieson, and Company refused to acknowledge the bill of exchange and Bartlam was forced to promise that he would repay Daniel himself. Bartlam's debts matured, and by 4 April 1768, he owed Daniel £157.15.11. On 5 April 1768, Daniel and his attorney Charles Pinckney filed a plea of trespass against Bartlam, claiming that:

> the said John Bartlam his several promises and assumptions aforesaid not regarding but contriving and fraudulently intending—the same Robert Daniel in this behalf craftily and subtilley [sic] to deceive and defraud the said several sums of money or any penny thereof to the said Robert & altho' to do it, the said John by the said Robert afterwards to wit the fifth day of April in the year last abovesaid [1768] at Charleston aforesaid was required hath not paid the same to him to pay have hither to hath altogether refused and still doth refuse to the Damage of the said Robert Three hundred and twenty pounds current money of the Province.[28]

On the same day, it was ordered that Bartlam appear the following July and answer Daniel's accusations. It is unfortunate that the nature of the debt was neither explained nor recorded. An attempt was then made to find Bartlam and inform him of the proceedings, but on 7 May 1768, Roger Pinckney, the bailiff of St. Thomas Parish, stated that his deputy, Mathew Knight, could not locate Bartlam, and that a copy of the 5 April 1768 writ was left at the "most notorious place of the Defendants Residence." Pinckney's

statement was filed on 29 July 1768. The money involved was listed on this document as "Writ Gave £320."[29] It is not known why Bartlam could not be found or where he could have been unless he was hiding or searching for clay.

On 26 April 1768, Bartlam, identified as a potter of St. Thomas Parish, Berkeley County, South Carolina, mortgaged two male slaves, Fortune and Hector, a canoe, two horses, two carts, four bedsteads, three feather beds, four mattresses, nine pairs of sheets, two tables, the rest of his household and kitchen furniture, and "five hundred dozen of Earthen Ware" to Andrew Robertson, John Jamieson, and George Baillie in consideration of a bond in the penal sum of £2000 South Carolina currency or "£2500 like money." This mortgage was recorded on 21 May 1768.[30] A mortgage for such a considerable amount suggests that Bartlam's financial difficulties were quite serious. Had he not completely paid for the construction of his pottery or was the money also for rent? Did he owe his workers back pay? The fact that he did not mortgage his pot-house but only earthenware leads to the supposition that the money and his pot-works were somehow connected. It is also possible that he had contracted some large debts with Robertson, Jamieson and Company, and the mortgage was a method of repayment. If so, what could the mercantile firm have imported for him that had been so costly? Or was this an accumulated debt that this firm had been carrying on their books since Bartlam's arrival? With "five hundred dozen of Earthen Ware" available for mortgage why was he not making money with his pottery production? Surely this product could undercut the prices asked for comparable imported "Earthen ware." It is unfortunate that there was no further clarification as to the type of ceramic this was, i.e., stoneware, creamware, or a very utilitarian lead-glazed earthenware. It is not even known if the earthenware was finished, or only in a bisque stage, or in a combination of completion stages. The mortgage gave the first of May as the due date for repayment; however, no year was given, therefore, since the recording of this document was 21 May, one should assume that the agreement was for a period of a year with 1 May 1769 as the date the money was due.

On 4 and 9 August 1768, the final judgment by jury in Charleston was made in Daniel's case against Bartlam. It was decided that Bartlam owed Daniel a total of £229.12.2 South Carolina currency (£174.4.3 of which was cost and charges and £55.7.11 being damages) after it was made clear that Bartlam had

never made an attempt to defend himself against the charges. The judgment was signed 22 September 1768.[31] A little less than a year later, on 16 May 1769, the following announcement appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal*:

> The subscriber having for a long time laboured under great disadvantages, occasioned by sickness of himself and journeymen, in establishing his MANUFACTORY of EARTHEN WARE, or the POTTING BUSINESS: now gives this public notice that he has recovered his health, which will enable him to carry on that valuable branch of business equal to what is done in England or elsewhere, as he worked at the business 18 years in England, and has provided himself with all sorts of tools, moulds, models and materials, having also found an excellent CLAY for supplying the manufactory with, provided he can have, some small assistance, to carry it on with spirit.— He can give sufficient reasons why it hath not succeeded hitherto.— A few young negroes will be taken apprentices to the said business, by applying to me, still residing at the manufactory at Cainhoy, or to Mr. James Fallows on the Bay, in Charles-Town. JOHN BARTLAM. If I can meet with proper encouragement, I will remove the manufactory to or near Charles-Town, if a convenient spot can be got next to a landing or river. Any person having such a place to let may apply as above.

The same advertisement appeared in the supplement to the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* of 6 June 1769. James Fallows was a shopkeeper.[32] It is unfortunate that he did not state the source of his "excellent clay." Had he found it in the Cain Hoy area or could it have been the Cherokee clay?

On the whole, this notice was very optimistic. His statement that a few young negroes would be taken as apprentices indicates that he felt his work force needed enlarging. That he had "provided himself with all sorts of tools" suggests that he had made some recent purchases and raised the level of his pottery's capability. These tools and other materials may have been ordered through Robertson, Jamieson, and Company and may have been part of his financial problems. Bartlam gave his own poor health, and his journeymen's, as a reason for his difficulties, and it may well have been the truth. If he and his workers had been too ill to produce pottery,

then they would have had no wares to sell, and thus no money to operate the pottery. His association with James Fallows, a shopkeeper, is not known. He ended the advertisement by appealing for assistance "to carry it on with spirit"; in other words, he wanted financial aid. Important in the last line is his assertion that he needed to be near water, for such a location would make it easy for him to receive fuel and clay and transport finished wares.

Bartlam was able to put his Cain Hoy pottery back into working order as his advertisement promised. On 10 January 1770, a petition was presented in the House of Commons from "several Persons Inhabitants of the Parish of Saint Thomas and Saint Dennis":

> Your Petitioners, being willing as much as lays in their power, to introduce Manufactures into this province, have at some expence, and with great labour, attempted to establish a Manufacture of earthenware, in the said Parish. That though your Petitioners at first met with great difficulties, they have at length brought the said Manufacture to perfection, as will appear by samples thereof, ready to be produced to your Honable Persons. That your Petitioners have now got their works in good and compleat Order, to make large quantities of the said Ware, But in as much as the said Work, cannot be carried on without some Assistance, the Persons employed therein being in indigent Circumstances. Your Petitioners humbly desire, that your Honorable House will be pleased to take their attempt into Consideration, and if it should appear to you to be advantageous to the Province, give them such Assistance and encouragement, as to you in your wisdom shall seem meet.[33]

The petition was referred to a committee of five men, Mr. M____, Mr. McKenzie, Mr. John Huger, Mr. Poaug, and Mr. Savage with the following result dated 26 January 1770:

> Mr. John Huger, Reported from the Committee. . . . That they have examined the quality of the wares there manufactured, and find they are brought to a degree of perfection worthy of Public Notice. That as there are a large and constant demand for every article of this Manufacture, Your Committee are of opinion that a proper encouragement ought [sic] to be given, as it may be the means of Supplying the Public, thirty perCent, cheaper than at present, an advantage which every individual will reap. That as there is

always an expence attending the establishing, Manufactures, which very often fall to the ground, for want of a little assistance, when undertaken by indigent Persons. Your Committee therefore recommend, that a sum not exceeding two hundred Pounds Sterling, be lodged in the hands of the Petitioners, in Trust for the further forwarding the said Manufactory, and to be laid out by them, as they shall think most conducive to its success.[34]

With the small but immediate government financial encouragement, and some private support, Bartlam made a big decision. He abandoned his Cain Hoy site and moved the pottery operations to Charleston probably soon after he received the monies that were promised on 26 January 1770. The private encouragement came from Henry Laurens who recorded the following in his personal journal in November 1770: ".217 To John Gordon . . . put into my hands to lend John Bartlam to be repaid out of Money to be provided by the House Assembly for encouraging a Pottery- I have promised to be said Bartlam's surety £50."[41] Laurens had a long history of being interested in the production of ceramics that would rival British exports.[42] Peter Manigault also invested in Bartlam's venture. In his estate inventory, part of which was dated 31 March 1774, there was an entry under the heading "Accompts" [sic] which read "The Public for Cash Advanced towards carrying on an Earthen Manufactory £84.16 . . . [£]592.18.00." The two values cited are in sterling and South Carolina currency, respectively.[43]

On 4 October 1770, Bartlam's move was recorded in the Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*: "CHARLES-TOWN, OCTOBER 4. . . . A China Manufactory and Pottery is soon to be opened in this Town, on the Lot late Mr. Bourgett's, by Messrs. Bartlam & Company, the proper Hands, &c., for carry [sic] it on, having lately arrived here from England; and there is no Doubt that it will meet with great Encouragement."[44] It is likely that the English workers mentioned in this notice were William Ellis and the three others Wedgwood discussed in his address. If so, it must have been in 1769 that Bartlam, after receiving the money, returned to England to "raise some fresh supplies" and prevail "upon four to go with him."[45] He then returned to Charleston to begin the construction of his new manufactory.

A week after the notice that Bartlam's manufactory was about to open was published, another announcement appeared in the Charleston *South Carolina Gazette* of 11 October 1770:

> JOHN BARTLAM, Having opened his POTTERY and CHINA manufactory, in Old-Church Street, WILL be obliged to the Gentlemen in the Country, or others, who will be so kind to send him Samples of any fine Clay upon their Plantations, etc. in order to make Trials of. He already makes what is called QUEEN'S WARE, equal to any imported; and, if he meets with suitable encouragement, makes no doubt of being able to supply the Demands of the whole Province. Good WORKMEN, in any of the different Branches, will meet with great Encouragement, by applying to the said JOHN BARTLAM.

On 8 November 1770, Bartlam ran the same announcement, but added "N. B. Five or Six Apprentices are wanted for the above Manufactory."[46] The notice with its addition ran regularly in the *South Carolina Gazette* through 9 May 1771. However, he ran a different notice in the Charleston *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* of 13 and 20 November 1770: "*WANTED IMMEDIATELY*, FIVE or SIX APPRENTICES, for the CHINA and EARTHENWARE MANUFACTORY [sic]. Any person inclinable to bind their Children, may treat with the Proprietor, at said Manufactory, in *Meeting Street.* JOHN BARTLAM." Apparently he had great plans for his new manufactory and needed many young hands.

His use of "CHINA and EARTHENWARE MANUFACTORY" to describe his production is interesting. The 11 October advertisement termed it "POTTERY and CHINA MANUFACTORY." The china he mentioned probably was his queensware with a creamware body.[47] Bartlam's boast that he already made queensware equal to English imports indicates that he had perfected this ware in Cain Hoy and was offering it as standard stock in Charleston. The earthenware reference suggests that he also produced and sold utilitarian earthenware of various forms. It may not have been his initial intention to produce this ware in Charleston, but as he was the only local pottery producer, it would have been a requirement for success. However, none of this type of earthenware has been found that can be attributed to him. His "CHINA" or "QUEEN'S WARE" production was his claim to fame.

The 11 October 1770 advertisement gave Old-Church Street as his pottery site while the 13 November 1770 advertisement cited Meeting Street. Actually it was the same address, for from 1723-65, Old Church Street was the name for Meeting Street.[48] The "Lot late Mr. Bourgett's" was lot 310, located on the north corner of Meeting

Street (fig. 4), now Fords Court. Perhaps this site can be excavated in the future to discover what types of ceramics Bartlam produced in Charleston.

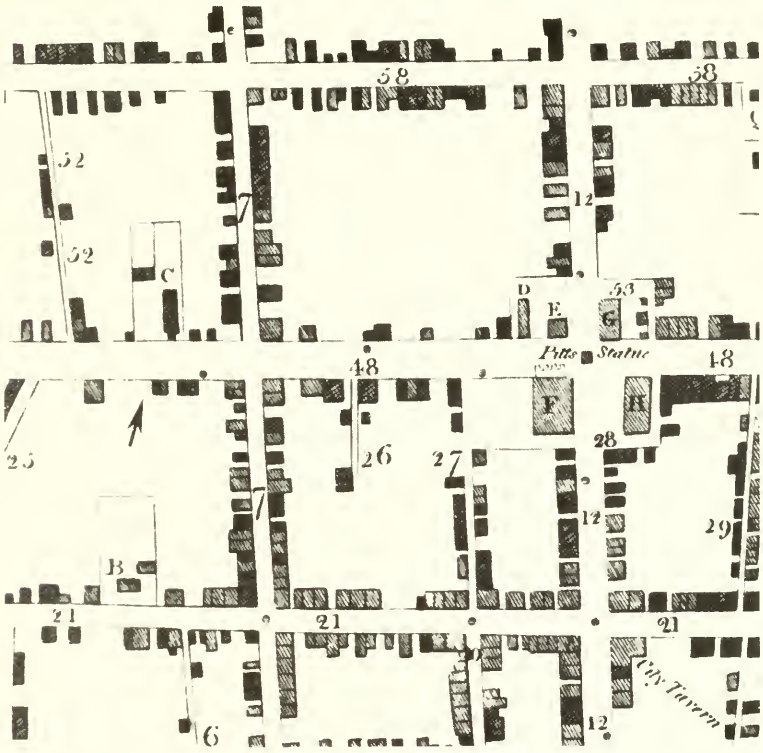


Figure 4. Detail of The Ichnography of Charleston, South Carolina. . . . *by Edmund Petrie, 1790. The arrow indicates the location of Bartlam's 1770-71 pottery manufactory on Meeting Street. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. MRF S-15,448.*

Although the petitioners were not named, there is little doubt that they were Bartlam and his journeymen or workers. From their petition and its result, it can be gleaned that somehow Bartlam had, as he had promised in his 1769 advertisement, carried the manufactory on "with spirit" and produced earthenware. A description of the ware would have been useful to this article. Unlike the earlier Low Country earthenware potter and porcelain experimenter Andrew Duche (1710-78), Bartlam apparently suffered no qualms

about showing his work to others in order to obtain money. It is unfortunate that Duche was not around to witness what could occur if one cooperated with the local authorities and divulged, with finished products, the intricacies of pottery production.[35]

Bartlam was indeed fortunate at this time that colonial politics favored just what he had proposed: assistance in establishing an American manufactory. The 1769 Nonimportation Agreement against Britain, a response to the imposition of the Townshend Act of 1767 which imposed duties on certain goods (tea, paper, paint, glass, lead, etc.) imported into the colonies, created a nationalistic spirit that included an appreciation and support of American manufactured goods no matter how less than fine than those imported. Homespun textiles became the fashion, and Bartlam hoped that his ceramics would be also.[36] The financial assistance offered Bartlam by South Carolina's assembly reveals the feeling that laid the foundation for such organizations as "The Society for Encouraging Manufactories." That society advertised a tavern meeting in the 31 January 1771 *South Carolina Gazette* for "the Company of Gentlemen, who may have any Thing to propose, for promoting the good Views and Purposes of the Public in this important Undertaking."[37]

South Carolina was not the only colony encouraging local manufactories. Bonnin and Morris of Philadelphia had begun the first successful porcelain factory (1770-1772) in America.[38] On 13 March 1770 the *South Carolina Gazette, and Country Journal* carried their advertisement:

> PHILADELPHIA, February, 1770. WHEREAS a CHINA MANUFACTURE is now erecting in this City, where it is already proved to a certainty, that the Clays of America are productive of a good PORCELAIN as any hitherto manufactured in, and imported from England. THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, that all Workmen skilled in the different branches of Throwing, Turning, Moulding, Pressing, and Handling, will meet with good Encouragement, upon applying to *G. Bonnin*, or to *G. A. Morris*, Proprietors of the said Factory; and such in SOUTH-CAROLINA as are inclined to engage, will be assisted in procuring their passages to Philadelphia by Mr. *Edward Lightwood*, in Charles-Town; also all those who are inclined to encourage this Undertaking, are requested to be expeditious in forwarding their Commands, as all Orders will be obeyed in Rotation, and the earliest executed first. N.B. None will be

employed who have not served their Apprenticeships in England, France, or Germany.[39]

Mr. Edward Lightwood was a merchant whose advertisements reflect his trade with Philadelphia. Apparently he was functioning as an agent for Bonnin and Morris.[40] The announcement of a Philadelphia ceramics manufactory undoubtedly had a psychological impact on Bartlam and all those who were interested in the success of his manufactory. The news must have reached Charleston some time before the newspaper advertisement, and Bartlam must have been aware of the potential loss of his potters. The two hundred pounds he was awarded that January could have not come at a better time, for a failing pottery breeds discontented workmen.

After the last appearance of his advertisement appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 9 May 1771, an empty period followed. Although the advertisement ran until May 1771, his pottery production had probably ceased some time before that date. He probably had paid for it to appear for a six-month period. Perhaps his 11 October request to be sent "samples of any fine Clay" was a note of distress which echoed the failure of his Charleston attempts; however, this could have been a continuing search for even finer clay, since he claimed he was already producing "QUEEN'S WARE." His advertising for workmen "in any of the different branches" reveals an interesting level of confidence that the range of the *South Carolina Gazette's* readership would yield workmen who had trained or were active in an established pottery. At this time in Charleston, his was the only productive coastal pottery below Virginia.

Nothing is known of Bartlam or his pottery after May 1771 and well into 1772. In July 1772 Bartlam paid Joseph Kershaw of Kershaw, Chesnut, and Company, £5.10 for an unspecified purchase.[49] Kershaw, Chesnut, and Company were merchants in the frontier village of Camden, South Carolina, 125 miles from Charleston. Camden had developed from a small village into the major trading center in South Carolina, a center for the movement of settlers into the Upcountry, and a collection point for goods destined for the coast. In 1732 Irish Quaker settlers established Fredericksburg Township, located on the Wateree River north of Pine Tree Creek, on the south end of what would later become Camden (fig. 5). In 1758 Joseph Kershaw built a new store and mill on 250 acres at the north end of Fredericksburg; he called the land "Log Town" (fig. 6). Kershaw was the representative of the

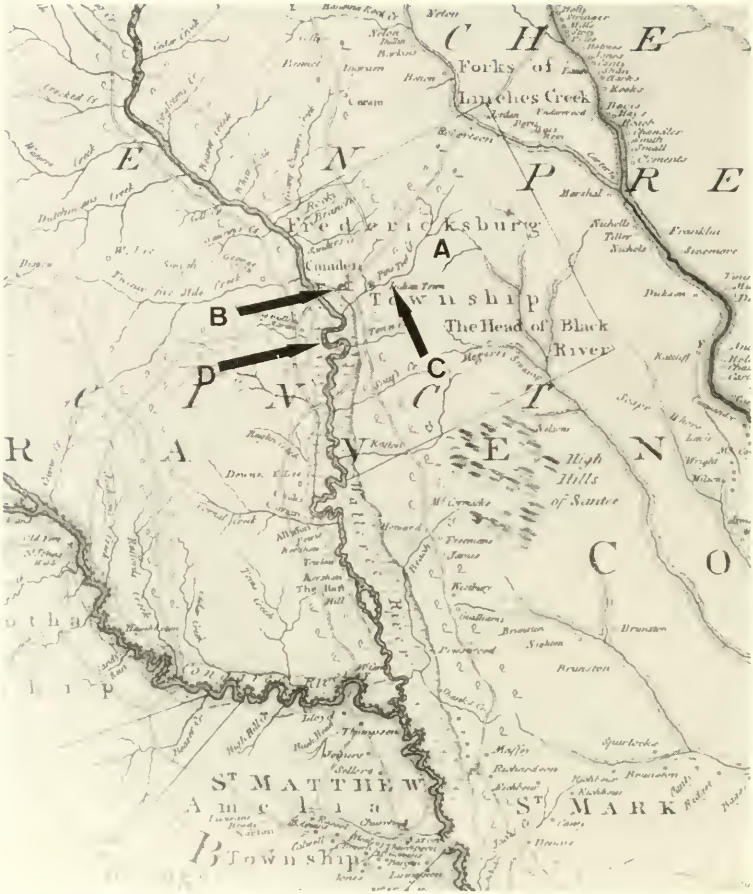


Figure 5. Detail of A Map of the Province of South Carolina. . . . *by James Cook, 1773, London. Fredericksburg Township (A), Camden (B), Pinetree Creek (C), and the Wateree River (D) are illustrated. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. MRF S-15,447.*

Charleston mercantile firm of Ancrum, Lance, and Loocock, and in 1763 John Chesnut became a partner. Kershaw's growing business later resulted in the building of two other stores at the heads of the Congaree and Pee Dee Rivers. With the establishment of Log Town, Fredericksburg became a considerable wheat milling and trading center, and by 1760 the village had been renamed Pine Tree Hill. On 12 April 1768 Pine Tree Hill was renamed Camden after Lord Camden, and it became the seat of government for Camden District.[50]

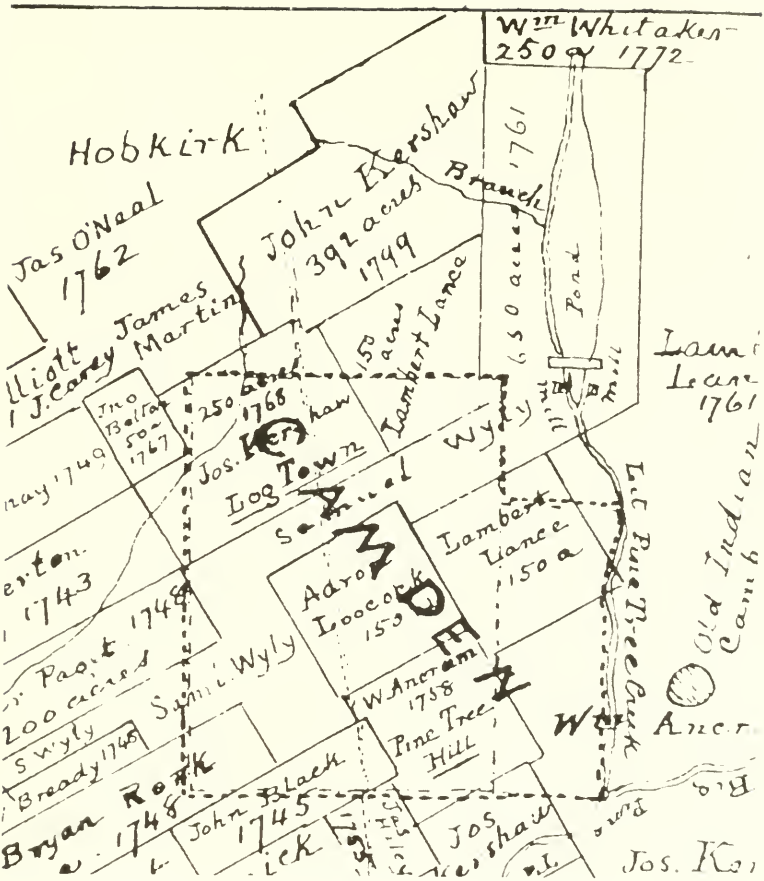


Figure 6. Twentieth-century map of the original land grants in Fredericksburg Township, showing the location of Camden, Log Town, Pine Tree Hill, and Hobkirk's Hill from Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, Historic Camden, Volume 1: Colonial and Revolutionary *(Columbia, South Carolina: State Printing Company, 1905). MRF S-15,449.*

Exactly when Bartlam went to Camden has not been determined, nor is anything else known of his Charleston pottery or workmen.[51] He may have been living in Camden some time before he paid Joseph Kershaw the £5.10 in July 1772. He was definitely a resident of Camden in October 1772. The following item ran in the Charleston *South Carolina and American General Gazette* on 19 October 1772 and 2 November 1772, dated 10 October:

> SOUTH CAROLINA. JOHN BARTLAM, of the province aforesaid, who is in the custody of the Sheriff[52] of Camden District, by virtue of two writs of Capias Respondendum, one of the suit of Henry Liebehantz, and the other at the suit of James Wilson, John Coram, and John Harford, having petitioned the Hon. Thomas Knox Garden, Esq., Chief Justice, and his Associates, Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, that he may be admitted to the benefit of the Act made for the relief of Insolvent Debtors; It is ordered that the said Henry Liebehantz and James Wilson, John Coram, and John Harford, and all others to whom the said petitioner is any wise indebted be and they are hereby summoned and have notice to appear at the Court House in Camden, at the first sitting of the Circuit Court there which shall happen three months after the publication hereof, to shew cause if any they can, why the said petitioner should not have the prayer of his petition granted. Pleas-Office, October 10th 1772. James Trail, C. C. P.[53]

Henry Liebehantz was a Charleston planter and tailor. James Wilson was a Charleston wine merchant, John Coram was a Charleston shopkeeper and merchant, and John Harford cannot be identified. Wilson's death notice in the Charleston *South Carolina Gazette* of 15 September 1773 stated that he had once been Coram's copartner. As Harford could not be identified, it is possible that he was Wilson's and Coram's mercantile contact in England. The fact that most of the parties involved in the case against Bartlam were from Charleston suggests that he had fled to Camden to escape his Charleston debts. Just why he chose Camden is not known; however, he may have visited the trading and milling village while searching for clay. The outcome of this case has not been located and, therefore, how the Charleston debts were settled is not known.

An 11 April 1774 notice in the *South Carolina Gazette*, although it did not name the proprietor, indicates that Bartlam had established a new pottery in Camden just three years after his last Charleston advertisement: "CHARLES-TOWN, April 11. . . . Some Samples of Queen's and other Earthen Ware have been lately brought to Town, from CAMDEN in this Province, where it was made, and there is a considerable quantity on Hand, which is equal in Quality and Appearance, and can be afforded as cheap, as any imported from England." The placement of this notice in the

Charleston paper, probably by the editor, undoubtedly resulted from public or mercantile acclaim over the queensware and earthenware samples that had arrived for sale or display. It is not clear if these ceramics were brought by Bartlam himself or a merchant. One of Kershaw's wagons may also have brought a load for sale; the quantity available was not clear. "Samples" suggests only a few pieces of each type, but "a considerable quantity on Hand" implies a larger amount, although it may have been a reference to what was available in Camden.

Almost three weeks later, on 30 April 1774, Bartlam bought beer from Joseph Kershaw and Company.[54] A little under a year later, the Charleston *South Carolina and American General Gazette* of 27 January 1775 listed him as having had a letter "remaining in the GENERAL POST OFFICE" since 16 January 1775. Perhaps the news of Bartlam's move to Camden had not reached all of his friends. From 3 January to 25 May 1775, Bartlam was involved in more business transactions with Joseph Kershaw, and Kershaw duly noted them in his Account and Day Books: "Camden South Carolina 3d January 1775 . . . John Bartlam deld. [delivered] 3 Silk Searchers @35/— 5"5—. . . . 25th May 1775 . . . John Bartlam dSd p Order 3 1/2 Galls. Rum @ 30/—5"5— sundry 30/- - - — 1"10— 6"15"—. . . 16th May 1775. . .27 John Bartlam For Earthen Ware [£] 30.16.9."[55] Bartlam may have made the three silk searchers he delivered to Kershaw's store; the nature of these items are not known. During the eighteenth century there was considerable interest in and attempts at silk production in the Low Country. Silk searchers may have been specialized tools made of a fine clay and used in the silk process. Where Kershaw sold these is not known, for he had business interests throughout South Carolina.

Apparently, Bartlam's Camden manufactory was in operation for some time. Dr. James Clitherall, a Charleston physician who was escorting two ladies to Philadelphia, travelled through Camden in April 1776 and noted in his diary on Saturday the thirteenth that he "dined every day with Mr. Kershaw. who entertain [sic] me with a Ride of about four Miles around by his Flour and Saw Mills which were very large and in good order and by Log Town to the Pottery. Here I saw some exceeding good Pans etc. which a Man who had set up these found great demand for. Mr. Kershaw who originally planned, and was the Proprieter of Camden, seemed much respected and beloved."[56] Kershaw's and Clitherall's ride "by Log Town to the Pottery" is the only surviving descriptive narrative

that hints at the location of the pottery. Bartlam probably established his pottery near a creek. The two possibilities are Pine Tree and Saunder's creeks. Both enter the Wateree River which flows into the Santee and thence to the coast just below Georgetown, South Carolina. To date this pottery has not been located.

On 14 April 1777, Kershaw made another notation concerning Bartlam in his accounts: "1777 14 April do [to Store] for Potter Shop Acct in P. £56.11.6. To John Bartlam for Balance of his Acct. [£]423.5.5."[57] According to these records, Bartlam paid off his personal account as well as his separate pottery shop account.

Some time before 4 February 1779, probably on 4 February 1778, Bartlam was bound to William Holiday, a Charleston vintner, in the sum of £4800 South Carolina currency. Bartlam signed a promissory note, stating his intention to repay the sum. The document also stated that if Bartlam paid Holiday, or his attorney, executors, or administrators, £2400 South Carolina currency before 4 February 1779, Bartlam's obligation would become null and void.[58] Bartlam's continued need for money reveals his questionable ability for business. Was he not able to produce earthenware? What had happened to his queensware production? With this new money, if it was not used to repay debts or to purchase property, Bartlam should have been able to make his manufactory a success, had not fate and history intervened.

What are probably the last records of Bartlam in South Carolina before his death come from an unidentified Camden account book and date from 21 August 1779 to March 1780 (see Appendix 2). The account book most likely was from the Kershaw store. Bartlam, whose account number was seven, apparently bought a sizeable quantity of goods, mainly rum, from this unidentified merchant. Bartlam also supplied the merchant with earthenware bottles.[59] Bartlam died between 2 March 1780, the date of his last transaction with the anonymous Camden merchant, and 10 July 1781, the date of his estate's letters of administration, and it seems most likely that he died early in 1781.

There is a possibility that he died while fighting in the Revolutionary War. Camden's inhabitants were principally for the American cause, and the town was, unfortunately for Bartlam and his pottery, selected as the site for the colonial powder magazine, built under the direction of Joseph Kershaw. Soon after the British captured Charleston in the spring of 1780, Camden was chosen as one of their garrisons in South Carolina. Easily occupied on 1 May

1780, Camden later was the site of a battle on 16 August 1780 in which the British, under Cornwallis, severely defeated the Americans and North Carolina was left open for invasion. During the occupation, Kershaw's house was used as the British headquarters. In the fall of 1780 the British constructed defenses (redoubts and a stockade wall) around the town, and in April 1781 General Nathaniel Green approached Camden to be surprised and engaged in battle by the British commander Lord Rawdon at Hobkirk's Hill (fig. 7) just north of Camden on 25 April 1781. The British victory was not as decisive as Rawdon had hoped, and he realized that, even though Green was routed, the Americans were still in the area and a threat to the other British posts, particularly those between Rawdon and Charleston. Therefore, on 10 May 1781 Rawdon began evacuating Camden, and in the process "he burned the jail, the mills, and some private houses, and destroyed all the stores which he could not take with him." A 14 May 1781 letter to Samuel Huntingdon from General Nathaniel Green included another description of Rawdon's damage: "Lord Rawdon burnt the greatest part of his baggage, stores, and even the effects belonging to the inhabitants; he set fire also to the prison, mill, and several other buildings, and left the town little better than a heap of ruins." It is unfortunate that the destruction of the pottery was not mentioned. As a source of competition with England, it must have been an important building.[60] If it was razed, it is possible that Bartlam died then.

It is known that Bartlam was a loyalist who fought in Captain Douglass Starke's Company, for this information was included in reports made from 5 May to 10 June 1783 that gave the names of those loyalists whose estates were to be confiscated because they had either departed with the British, died, or been killed in action. In the report Bartlam was identified as a member of Starke's Company of Colonel John Marshall's Regiment in Camden District who died before 1783, but he was not listed among those who were killed in service.[61] It is possible, however, that he may have been discharged from his company after being wounded in battle and died shortly thereafter, if he did not die during the 10 May 1781 evacuation.

Bartlam's wife, Mary, was appointed administratrix of his estate on 10 July 1781, Bartlam having died intestate, and she was ordered to submit an inventory by 6 October 1781.[62] The inventory was duly presented on 3 October 1781; totalling £9.8.10, it was not the most enlightening of documents. Other than "1 Keg of White Lead supposed 9 wt. 1.10," nothing pertaining to his trade was listed.

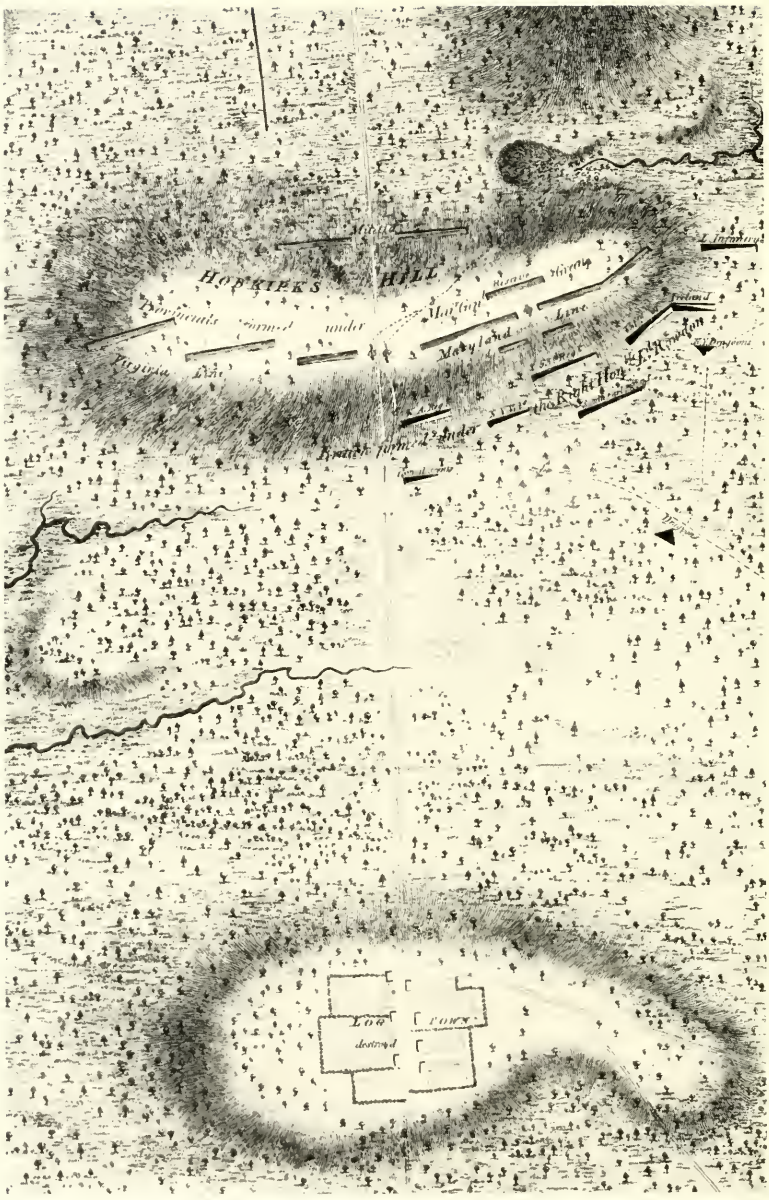


Figure 7. Detail of Sketch of the Battle of Hobkirks Hill Near Camden *by C. Vallancy, 1794. "Log Town" destroyed is in the lower center of this sketch, which was published in Charles Stedman's* History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War, *London, 1794. Courtesy of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University. MRF S-15,416.*

The rest of the appraisal mentioned only household goods.[63] The pottery, tools, and finished and unfinished ceramics would not have been listed if they were destroyed by Rawdon's evacuation. It is also possible that Bartlam did not own the pottery. Kershaw might have built it, hired Bartlam as its potter, and bought the finished products.

John Bartlam's losses during the British occupation of Camden were described by his widow, Mary, on 27 September 1783 in Saint Augustine, East Florida. These included:

A House and Lot in the Town of Camden together with Out buildings, Garden, and Fences valued at £400
3 Town Lotts in Camden, measuring in 550 feet in Depth, and 20 feet in width each, valued at 45
10 Head of Cattle which the British Army took, and for which she was never paid, valued at.....20
1 Horse taken into His Majesty's Service 10
A Negro Boy, who followed the British Army, valued at.....*50*
Amounting in all to the Sum of .....£525 Sterling.[64]

Mary stated under oath that the property had been her husband's and that she had not sold or disposed of it to anyone. On the same day, Robert English, John Adamson, and Charles Goodman, the appraisers who were living in East Florida, appeared before John Mills, Justice of the Peace for George District in East Florida, and swore that "the Testimony laid before them by Mrs. Mary Bartlam, Widow of John Bartlam late of Camden in South Carolina — Potter Deceased. . . . declare that before the late Rebellion in North America, the Premises therein described, were well worth the Sums annexed thereto."[65] That these men were living in East Florida and yet were able to swear that Mary's claims were true indicates that they were familiar with Camden. John Mills arrived in St. Augustine in October 1782 and served as a Justice of the Peace. In May 1784 he left St. Augustine, a month before the Spanish governor arrived (27 June 1784) to establish the Spanish government (14 July 1784).[66] John Hamilton apparently was a channel for memorials to London for loyalists while he was in St. Augustine (1783-84 [in London from 1785-94]). He was originally a merchant in Halifax, North Carolina, and left the state for St. Augustine, where he established the Royal North Carolina Regiment composed of refugees, also in St. Augustine, who were from other parts of the South. While in charge of this regiment, Hamilton was stationed in

Camden in June 1780 under Lord Rawdon. It is very likely that Hamilton knew John Bartlam and, therefore, was able to verify the above appraisal.[67]

Again, the pottery was conspicuously absent. Its omission suggests that it was not Bartlam's property; however, Mary may not have listed it because it was a manufactory in direct competition with English production. Stating its existence may have hindered her cause.

Bartlam's debts plagued his estate long after he died. At his death he was indebted to William and Sara Lee, Charles Johnston, Zephiniah Kingsley, Jacob Valk, and John Simson, the executors for the estate of William Edwards, who had been the executor for William Holiday's estate. The outstanding bonds due Holiday's estate were in his inventory of 1 August 1783 and included "John Bartlam, Bond & Judgt. 4 August 1778 £2400"; under "Notes" in the same document, there was "121 John Bartlam 3 Aug 1778 [£]343.8.11." Nothing else is known about the note.[68] Some time after 1783, Mary either renounced or was forced to give up her position as administratrix of his estate, and Joseph Kershaw replaced her. On 3 July 1787, Kershaw sold Bartlam's "goods and chattels" to satisfy some of the debt owed Holiday's estate, and on 20 October 1787, Kershaw, as administrator, advertised that "five valuable Lots in Camden belonging to the estate of Jno. Bartlam deceased" were for sale. These were lots 639, 640, 641, 642, and 643 (fig. 8) which faced Fair Street on the north and south side of its intersection with King Street.[69] The next year Joseph Kershaw bought the lots for £164. Although Kershaw sold Bartlam's belongings to repay the debt owed Holiday's estate, the executors of Edwards's estate filed a suit against Kershaw on 1 November 1787, claiming that the repayment was insufficient. On 17 March 1788, Kershaw appeared in court in Camden District and swore that there was nothing left of Bartlam's estate, although there were several tracts of land in his possession that belonged Bartlam's estate. He stated that they were rightfully his as the estate was indebted to him for council fees and letters of administration. Edwards's executors won the case, and on 2 April 1788, Kershaw was ordered to pay them the remainder of the debt, levied from Bartlam's estate and Kershaw's property.[70]

Mary Bartlam, meanwhile, had moved to Charleston, and was endeavoring to recoup her losses by appealing to the British Council in Charleston, George Miller, in hopes that the British government would compensate her for the loss of John's estate because he was a loyalist. He suggested that she write Colonel John Hamilton in

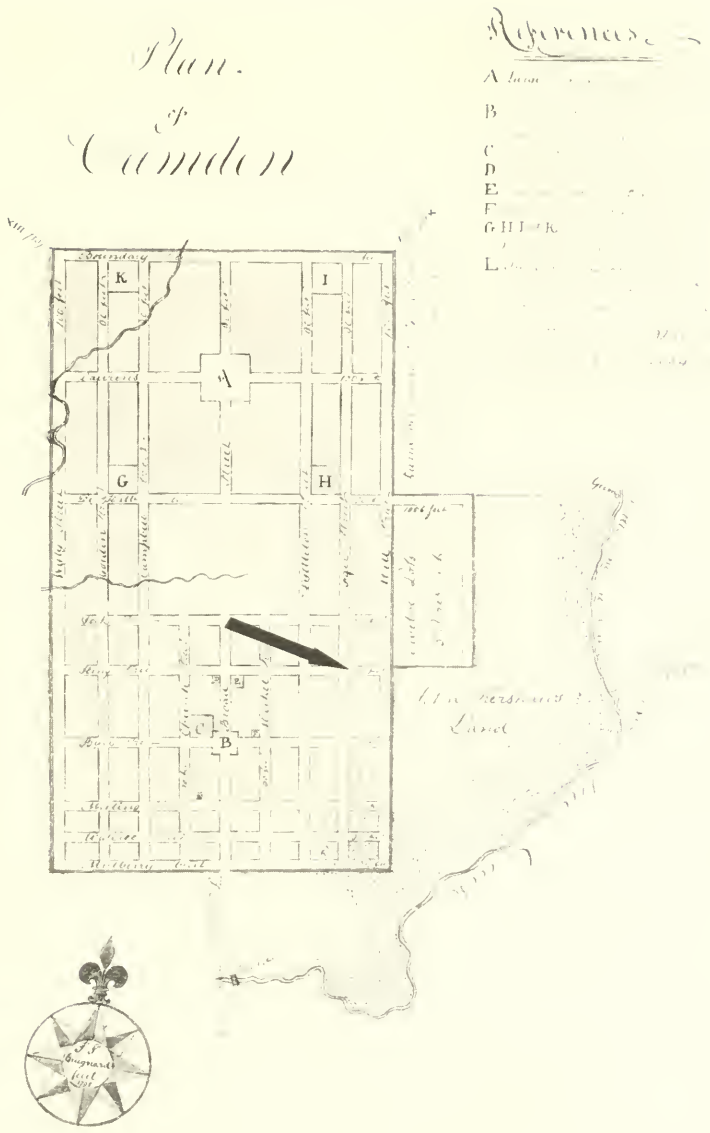


Figure 8. 1798 Plan of Camden taken from the South Carolina Statutes for 1798, Statute Number 1702, by J. S. Guignard. Bartlam's lots, 639-643, faced Fair Street to the north and south of King Street and are indicated by the arrow. MRF S-15,450.

England. The outcome of her attempt is unknown, but her Christmas letter to Col. John Hamilton, Pitchfield Street, England, dated 25 December 1788 has survived:

> I take the liberty to inclose you some papers concerning my loss [the 1783 appraisal] in Carolina during the late War, one of which you were so kind as to sign yourself, also a power of attorney appointing you to make application in my behalf to the commissioners who inquire into the losses and services of the American Loyalists, executed as you will perceive, as far back as the 6th day of March 1784. If it is not too late, may I beseech you to endeavor to get me some compensation, for I am in great want and obliged now to work for my living in Charleston, as the people in my old district are very cold to me on account of the part my late husband and my self took in the War, and I could not go home my self, being a poor lone woman without any money or friends, and Children to look after and provide for. I would have applied sooner but I did not know the right way, and I fear I am now too late, but Mr. Miller, the British Consul, who knows my case and thinks it hard, has been good enough to say he will get this sent to you, and any further power is needful, or anything else to assist in my relief is wanting, if you will be pleased to mention it to him, I will endeavor to send it to you. Pray sir take up my case, and do for me what you can, and if you are unsuccessful in it, I still will thank you for your trouble, but if you are successful, your endeavor will make the hearts of the widow & Fatherlings ring for Joy.[71]

The very next day, the Charleston British Consul, George Miller, sent Mary's missive with one of his own to Hamilton, and in it he wrote:

> She also put the enclosed papers into my hands, among which you will find a letter of Attorney executed some years ago. I the more redily looked into her papers, that I saw your name offered to one of them. The poor woman is in great distress [torn] be not too late, deserves, in my opinion, some assistance from Government. I beg leave to sufer you her letter, and have only farther to add, that if there is a possibility of her selling any thing, and farther documents are necessary for that purpose if you will communicate the nature of them to me, she will endeavor to furnish you with

them. . . . P. S. I address this to be left at the Carolina Coffee House, in care of our mutual friend Mr. Scoolbred [sic].[72]

This letter is the last known document that directly concerned Bartlam and his family. In the Christmas letter of 1788 Mary had written to Hamilton that "your endeavor will make the hearts of the widow and Fatherlings ring for Joy," which implied that some of his children were still alive. Just what happened to their daughters Honour and Betty Allen is not known at this writing. Further, the location of Bartlam's grave is not known. Apparently Mary found her way back to Staffordshire, for she died on 4 December 1818 in her birthplace, Great Fenton, St. Peter's Parish.[73]

It should be noted that Bartlam's work was not forgotten, and he was mentioned in two nineteenth-century writings. In *The History of South Carolina from Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, David Ramsay wrote: "A pottery was also erected by an Englishman of the name of Bartlam. Various handicraft men found profitable employment, and Camden continued to thrive till it was checked by the war."[74] In 1826 Robert Mills, in *Statistics of South Carolina*, described Camden and added: "Before the revolution a pottery was established by the name of Bartlam. A brewery was also erected about the same time, and promised well; but these, as also several handicrafts, were all checked, and eventually destroyed by the war."[75]

At this writing no extant marked examples of John Bartlam's work from any of his production sites are known. This fact, however, has not prevented the attribution of ceramics to Bartlam based on archaeological evidence and associated surviving forms. An English-influenced "Carolina earthenware" type has been recognized in archaeological and decorative arts studies since it was first uncovered in excavations at Bethabara and Salem, North Carolina, in 1966 and 1968, and in later excavations at Camden, Ninety-Six, Fort Watson, and Long Bluff, South Carolina.[76] Most of the Carolina earthenware, with the exception of that excavated in Salem, has been attributed to Bartlam's Camden period (1772-1781). More recently, ceramic remains found in two Low Country locations have resulted in the identification of what may be examples of work from Bartlam's Cain Hoy (1765-70) and Charleston (1770-71) kilns, based on their resemblance to sherds from the Camden and upcountry South Carolina sites.

After several years of searching for waster evidence from Bartlam's kiln in and around the village of Cain Hoy, a discovery made in the last year has yielded what may be products of that kiln.[77] These glazed and matching bisque sherds came from what was probably a household waster pit, for they were interspersed with sherds of English ceramics. The fact that the bisque examples matched those that were glazed indicates local production.

Figure 9. Bisque creamware sherd from the turned base of a vase or jar surface-collected at Cain Hoy. This photograph was inverted to demonstrate the shape of the vessel as it would have stood. HOA 1". Courtesy of the McKissick Museum, collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia. MRF S-15,451.

These sherds can be tentatively classified into two paste types: cream-colored and grey. Three bisque and two lead-glazed sherds represent the cream-colored type. Some of these sherds are from the base of a cylindrical jar; they are not illustrated here, for they are too incomplete. A fragment from the waist of a turned base that probably once belonged to a small-waisted vase or jar (fig. 9) is solid and

reveals turning on both the waist exterior and the interiors of both ends. In its entirety, this was probably either a tulip or flower vase or a pharmacy jar with a flaring base or stand, a narrow waist, and a bulbous body; both tin-glazed and creamware examples are known.[78] Two bisque and two dark green glazed sherds (fig. 10) represent what was probably a press-moulded leaf dish or tray similar

Figure 10. Two dark green lead-glazed creamware press-moulded sherds with a leaf design (top) and two matching bisque creamware sherds (bottom) from unidentified forms, all surface-collected at Cain Hoy. Courtesy of the McKissick Museum, collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia. MRF S-15,452.

to those produced by Whieldon and Wedgwood; these fragments correspond with each other closely.[79] Two sherds (fig. 11) with a lighter green lead glaze once were part of a hollow ware form that had parallel rouletting like that on Staffordshire-type creamware two-handled cups and teapots of the 1770s. The form may have been a teapot like Wedgwood's fruit-and leaf-adorned examples.[80] The cream-colored paste of all these examples is fine, compact, and clean. It probably was a type of creamware. We know that Bartlam advertised that he made "what is called QUEEN'S WARE."

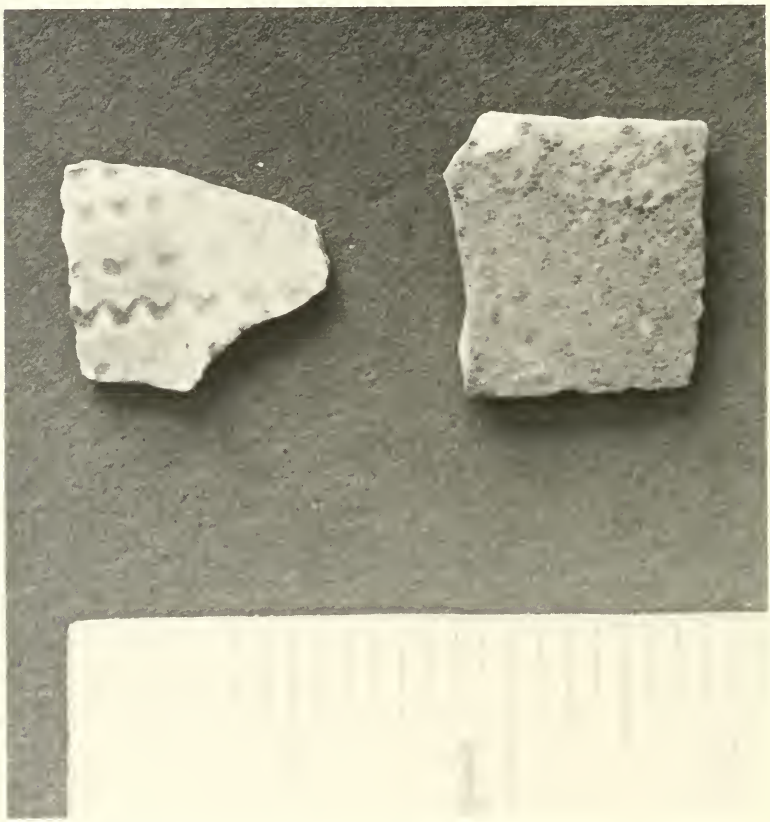


Figure 11. Two light green lead-glazed creamware sherds with rouletting from a hollow ware vessel, both surface-collected at Cain Hoy. Courtesy of the McKissick Museum, collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia. MRF S-15,453.

The second paste type, the grey, is finer, very dense, and harder than the cream type. The sherds of the grey paste ware were found in three stages: bisque with no decoration, bisque with decoration, and glaze-decorated. The undecorated bisque sherd is illustrated with the decorated bisque sherd in fig. 12 for comparison. Both examples were parts of saucers, for foot rings (fig. 12a) are present on their reverses. The undecorated bisque sherd is an example of a

Figure 12. Two bisque, grey-paste saucer sherds from the well area of the saucer. The left sherd is plain and the right has a white slip and is hand-decorated with a cobalt chinoiserie *scene of a man in a boat. Both were surface-collected at Cain Hoy. Courtesy of the McKissick Museum, collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, MRF S-15,454.*

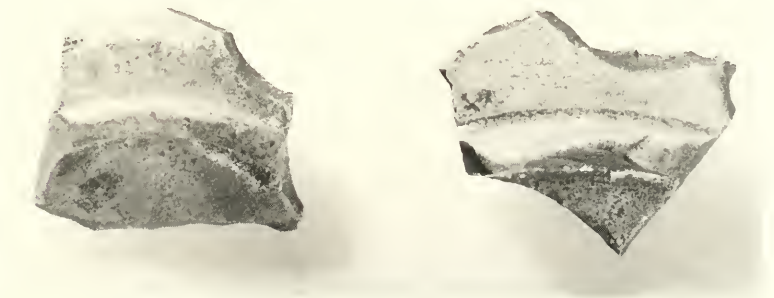


Figure 12a. Footrings are visible on the reverses of the saucer sherds illustrated in fig. 12.

saucer in its first stage of production— before a white engobe or slip was applied to the surface and a *chinoiserie* scene drawn with a fine brush, or, in ceramics terms, a pencil. The decorated but unglazed sherd is an example of that second stage. At first inspection, the decoration was thought to be transfer-print; however, when it was magnified, it was found to be hand-decorated. Most of the engobe on the front of this example is present, albeit weak, but on the reverse it is found only on the arc of the footring.

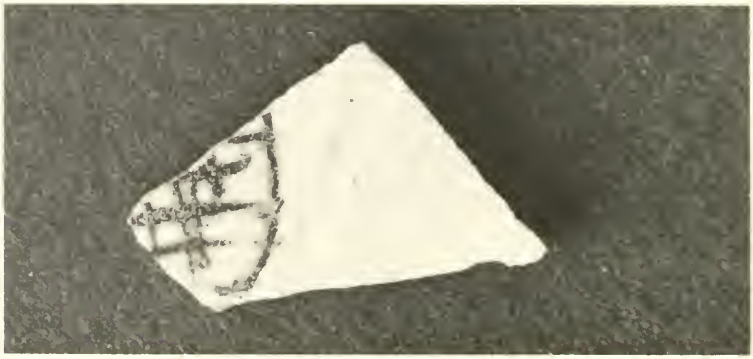


Figure 13. Sherd, grey paste, from a turned hollow ware vessel decorated in underglaze blue on a white slip. The design appears to be in the chinoiserie *style. The sherd was surface-collected at Cain Hoy. LOA 3/4". MRF S-15,455.*

The convex decorated and glazed sherd (fig. 13) is from a turned, hollow ware vessel that cannot be further identified. It also has a white engobe and a cobalt underglaze decoration. Because it is glazed, the white engobe is stronger and covers the paste better; this can be seen on its reverse. The circular decoration on its exterior also appears to be in the *chinoiserie* style and possibly an imitation of a Chinese character. Two parallel turning marks are evident, most likely these were intended to be decorative, although they may have been unintentional. The style and quality of this decoration is much like that found on some examples of tin-glazed earthenware and blue-and-white porcelain in imitation of the Chinese and Continental.[81] There is too little of the decoration on this example to discern what the man in the boat is holding, but it is probably a fishing or boating pole, for most of the men in other manifestations of this design have one or the other. To the right of the peculiar upturned-end boat is what appears to be the beginning of a bridge. The man in this example also has no face or hat, either of which, if they were present, might have indicated this particular artist's background.

Unfortunately, these sherds are too small to indicate the type of ceramics Bartlam intended to produce. Although there is a slight possibility that these sherds were creamware, the fact that they were not a creamware color leads to the speculation that they were some other type of ceramics. For example, the grey color of the paste and the engobes suggest a tin-glazed earthenware, hence the journalist's 1765 remark that Bartlam scarce doubted "his ware exceeding that of Delft." The tin-glazed earthenware notion is further strengthened by Bartlam's own description of his pottery as a "MANUFACTORY of EARTHENWARE." However, these sherds could also represent Bartlam's experimenting with Cherokee clay in an attempt to produce porcelain—an activity that occupied the time of many mid-to-late eighteenth-century potters and entrepreneurs. In 1769 Bartlam said he had found an excellent clay, which may have been a reference to kaolin, but he never advertised that he made or tried to make porcelain.

Although they cannot be identified specifically as any one particular earthenware type, the discovery of both bisque and finished sherds is significant, for they suggest that a kiln was nearby. Although it is not clear why both bisque and finished sherds were in a household waste pit, it is possible that the house might have been that of Bartlam or one of his workers. An archaeological investigation of this site is planned in the immediate future, for the land is being developed. It may result in not only the discovery of Bartlam's kiln and pottery, but a greater understanding of the nature of his production in that area as well.

No ceramics evidence has been firmly attributed to Bartlam's Charleston period (1770-71); however, it is possible that two cups without handles and a saucer recovered from a well at Wormsloe, a plantation southeast of Savannah, Georgia, and the dwelling of Noble Jones and his family from 1745-75, were made at Bartlam's pottery in Charleston. Other associated material in the well dated the deposit from about 1770-80; stylistically the cups and saucer date from 1765-85. All three are of a creamware paste with a lead glaze.

William Kelso, a noted archaeologist, was the first to state his belief that these objects were not English exports.[82] One of the cups was not available for photography or study, but the cup and saucer (fig. 14) that are illustrated have kiln faults and design characteristics that substantiate Kelso's theory that they were not English. The kiln fault (fig. 14a) can be seen on the base of the saucer. It was

caused by another circular body's adhering to the foot ring during the glaze firing. When the kiln was unloaded, the two objects were broken apart. A similar mark is on the exterior of the cup's foot ring. Such faults would not appear on ceramics marketed by a respectable and established factory, and they indicate a local pottery.

Figure 14. Lead-glazed creamware cup and saucer excavated at Wormsloe Plantation, near Savannah. Cup: HOA 2 5/16", WOA 4 7/8". Saucer: HOA 1 3/8", WOA 6". Courtesy of Wormsloe Historical Site, MRF S-13,311.

Figure 14a. A crescent-shaped kiln scar can be seen on the base of the saucer in fig. 14.

The rouletted edge of the cup (fig. 14b) has a fault that also would not have been common in wares sold by an English factory. Apparently the wheel was defective, for the fault is repeated on every complete turn, creating a half- and several-beaded pattern from what should have been a single-bead design. The rope moulding roulette decoration found in the center of the saucer (fig. 14c) is

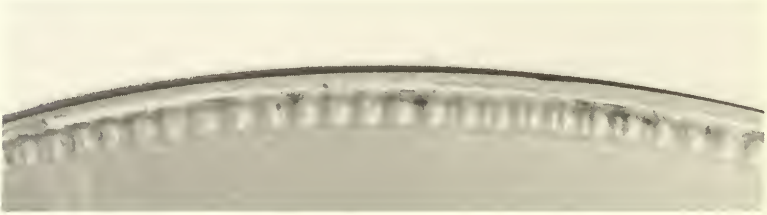


Figure 14b. The rouletted half beads that are spaced in a regular pattern along the edge of the cup in fig. 14 indicate a defect in the wheel.

Figure 14c. The rope moulding in the well of the saucer from fig. 14 is related to the base and the lip of the mug illustrated in fig. 15.

Figure 15. Bisque creamware mug excavated in Salem, North Carolina. The rope moulding on the lip and the base is similar to that of the saucer well illustrated in fig. 14c. HOA 5 7/8", WOA (through handle) 5 5/8", WOA (body only) 4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-1939.

not common to English ceramics and relates very strongly to an identical design found on several of the experimental creamware examples (fig. 15) excavated in Salem, North Carolina, where William Ellis, one of Bartlam's workmen, taught Rudolph Christ how to produce queensware.

Kelso described the color of these samples as "deep yellow."[83] This color is a characteristic of some of the examples from Bartlam's Camden period which could result in their being classified as part of his Camden production. Nevertheless, the fact that these examples were found in Savannah also suggests a coastal origin. As nothing resembling these samples has been found in Cain Hoy, it seems likely that they may be examples of Bartlam's "QUEEN'S WARE" production in Charleston.

Another object excavated from the Heyward-Washington House in Charleston may have been made at Bartlam's Charleston pottery. It is a mug (fig. 16) dating 1770-80, and its inclusion in this study is tentative, but it exhibits certain features that could indicate Bartlam's production. Its type was produced in various English factories at that time. This example has rouletting around its rim and base, ribbed double-intertwined extruded handles, and flower, leaf, and fruit terminals. Its lead glaze is clear and reveals small, dark inclusions that occur in the light yellow paste. The rouletted top and base bead decorations are of fair execution that compares favorably with the beading on the rim of the cup excavated from Wormsloe (see fig. 14a), particularly the base beading. The bottom of the mug (fig. 16a) reveals a turned foot ring defined by a channel between it and the base. The terminals, or sprigs, are applied in a manner that appears "loose"; they were not properly luted or applied (fig. 16b). Also, these terminals were applied below what should have been the proper attachment, leaving the handle end exposed— a somewhat sloppy approach.

Figure 16. Lead-glazed creamware mug excavated at the Heyward-Washington House in Charleston. HOA 3 3/4", WOA 3". Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, MRF S-13,870.

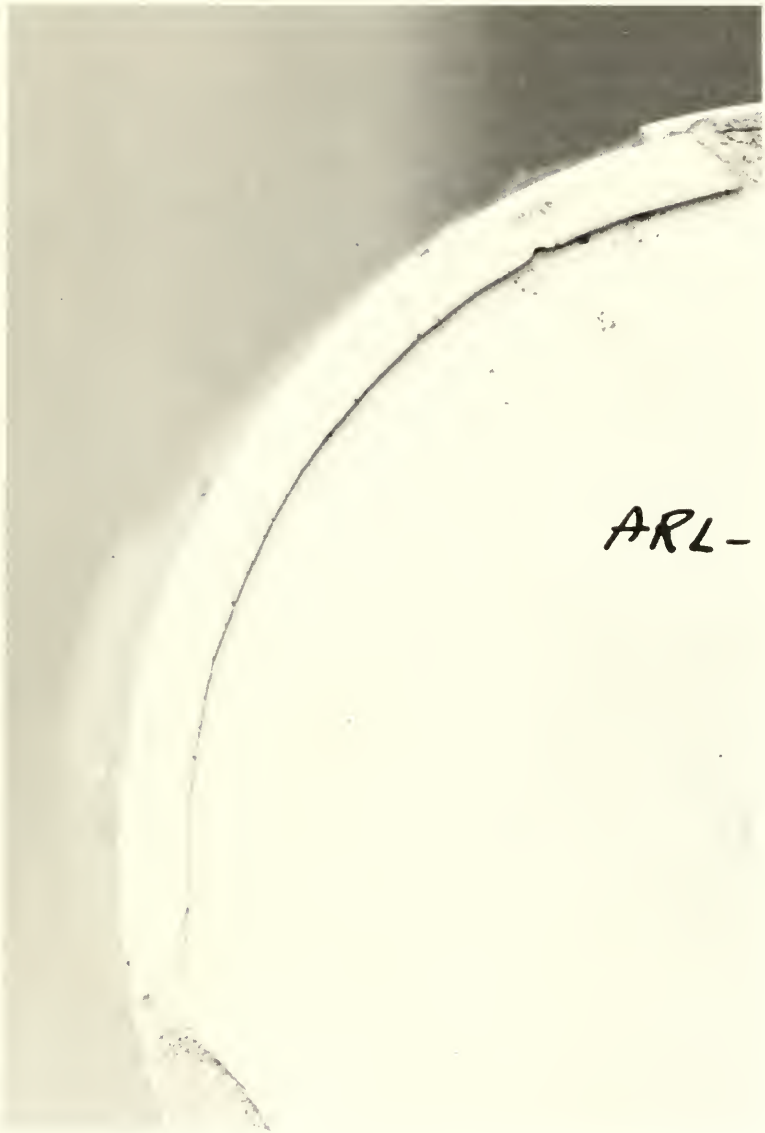


Figure 16a. Detail of the footring of the mug in fig. 16.

Figure 16b. Detail of fig. 16, showing the mug's terminals.

The cracks and loose terminals are unlike normal English production. The terminal design is somewhat similar to what is seen on examples excavated in Salem (fig. 17). Terminal typology is not very firm and its study is in its infancy, yet the closeness in design of the Charleston- and Salem-excavated objects suggests a connection to Ellis and is a stronger piece of evidence for a Bartlam-Charleston attribution.[84] However, since Bartlam's Charleston pottery may not have operated for more than a few months, future study may lead to the re-attribution of this mug and the Wormsloe cups and saucer to Bartlam's Camden manufactory.

Figure 17. Bisque and lead-glazed creamware sherds from hollow ware vessels, all excavated in Salem. Variations in terminal designs are shown. Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,546.

The excavation of several sites in and around Camden yielded a remarkable amount of the Carolina earthenware associated with Bartlam. Six hundred and fifty-one small sherds were found—enough to reveal the most variation in production of any of the three South Carolina manufacturing sites. These variations have been tentatively classified into ten types, the descriptions of which follow.

The first type is of a grey paste covered with a yellow glaze mottled in green and brown. The resulting color imparted a grey cast to the supposedly cream-colored earthenware. The majority of these sherds came from bowls.

The second is of a buff paste with a clear glaze that resulted in a reddish-colored ware. Most of these sherds were from plates or bowls. The third is of the same buff paste as the second, but the glaze is mottled with green and brown. These sherds were from bowls (fig. 18), cups, and plate rims with a featheredge pattern (fig. 19). The fourth is of the same buff paste as the second and third, but the clear glaze was mottled with green and brown. These sherds came from delicately-walled vessels such as teacups with slightly flaring rims. The fifth is of the same buff paste as the second, third, and fourth, with a deep green glaze on the exterior and a clear glaze on the interior. There are only two small sherds of this type.

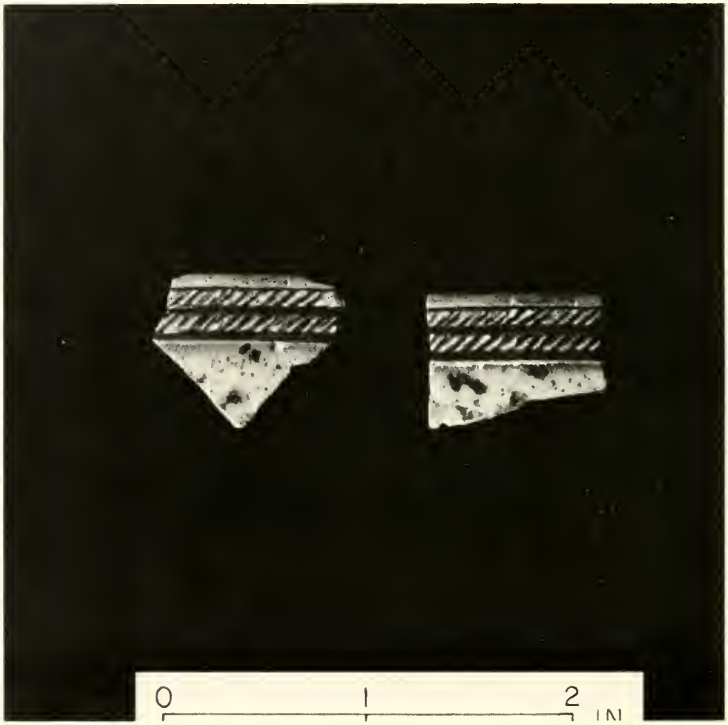


Figure 18. Creamware hollow ware rim sherds mottled green and brown under a lead glaze. These sherds have rouletted borders and were excavated at Camden, South Carolina. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. MRF S-15,457.

Figure 19. Bisque "featheredge" creamware plate rim sherd excavated at Camden. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. MRF S-15,458.

The sixth is of a creamware-type paste with a clear glaze, and it ranges in color from a light cream to a deep yellow. Reddish blotches on the sherd surfaces indicate the oxidation of impurities. Plates, cups and mugs (fig. 20), and bowls (fig. 21) were made from this type. The hollow ware rims were decorated with a pearl rouletting and the plate rims had a featheredge design. It is possible that the Wormsloe cup and saucer and the Heyward-Washington mug were examples of this type and thus were not made in Charleston. The seventh is of a creamware-type paste with a clear glaze mottled in brown or green or both. Plates, bowls, and cups were made from this type.

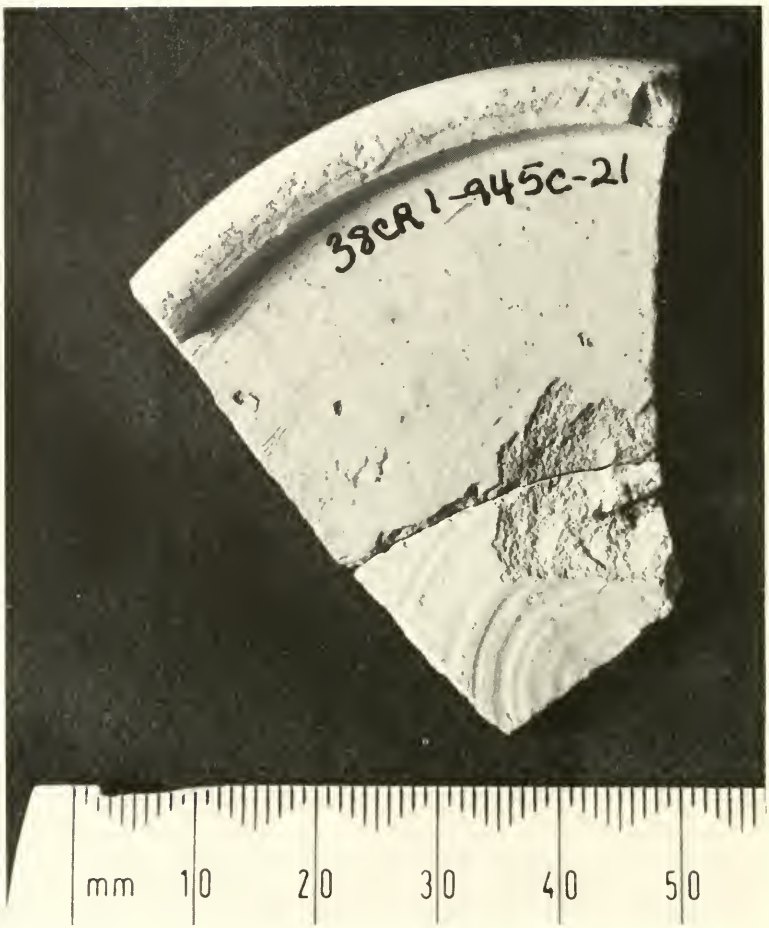


Figure 20. Lead-glazed creamware mug base sherd with footring, turning marks, and paste imperfections excavated at Camden. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. MRF S-15,459.

Figure 21. Lead-glazed creamware bowl excavated at Camden. Surface imperfections reveal the oxidation of impurities in the paste. HOA 3 7/16", WOA (projected) 7", WOA (footring) 3 3/4". Courtesy of the Historic Camden Foundation. MRF S-8854.

The eighth is of a creamware paste glazed a deep green on both surfaces. Bowls and other similarly-shaped vessels were made from this type. The ninth is of a creamware paste with a clear glaze mottled in brown on interior surfaces and brown and green on the exteriors. Bowls were made from this type.

The tenth is of a creamware paste and may represent kiln wasters, for it includes bisque and partially-glazed sherds from bowls, plates, cups and mugs (fig. 22). One small sherd, which

Figure 22. Lead-glazed creamware handle with terminal sherd from a hollow ware vessel, perhaps a mug, excavated at Camden. There is evidence of a firing accident on the upper right of the handle. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. MRF S-15,460.

could not be illustrated, is from the rim of a press-moulded or slip-cast sauce boat that was relief-moulded. The glaze on this sherd is finely crazed. Another sherd (fig. 23), possibly the base of a plate, has two lines of impressed letters that are so infused with glaze that they are illegible.[85]

Figure 23. Lead-glazed creamware sherd from the base of a plate or hollow ware vessel. Two lines of stamped lettering obscured by glaze are visible. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. MRF S-15,461.

Bartlam's widest range of production was in Camden, for his pottery there was his longest-running manufactory. It is hoped that the further excavations and studies in the Cain Hoy area will result in stronger attributions of Bartlam's other production, as well as connect some of these sherds with each other. It is unfortunate that Bartlam did not fare better financially, for the evidence discussed herein suggests that he was a skilled potter with the ability to produce a number of types of fine ceramics.

Appendix 1.

An Address to the Workmen in the Pottery, on the Subject of Entering into the Service of Foreign Manufacturers By Josiah Wedgwood, F. R. S., Potter to Her Majesty, Newcastle, Staffordshire, Printed by J. Smith, 1783:

MY COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS!

As some attempts have lately been made to seduce you into the service of foreign manufacturers; and as I am fully persuaded it would be contrary to your own interest, as well as that of your country, to accept such offers, however tempting they may, by false colouring, be made to appear; I hope you will lend me your patient attention to a few words which I wish to say to you on this occasion.

It may be with great truth asserted, that higher wages are given to manufacturers, particularly to potters, and that greater care is taken of the poor when sick or past labour, in England, than in any other part of the world; notwithstanding which, many of our people have, at different times, been enticed into foreign service, the flattering promises held forth to them having got the better of their discretion. These people have indeed, generally been of the looser kind, such as no advantages could satisfy at home; but so far have they been from bettering their circumstances by yielding to a rambling disposition, that in the end they have found themselves miserably deceived by promises too extravagant ever to be fulfilled.

If I was to give you an account of all these emigrations of our workmen into foreign parts, with the severe distresses they have fallen into, it would look more like romance than real history. I shall mention two or three only, to America; which, from the great preparations made, and the country they were going to by the most advantageous to the parties, and at the same time the most hurtful to our particular business, of any that ever took place from this island.

About seventeen years ago, Mr. Bartlem, a master potter, who had been unsuccessful here, went to South Carolina, and by offers made from thence, very advantageous in appearance, prevailed upon some of our workmen to leave their country and come to him. They took shipping at Bristol, and after more than a quarter of a year spent in storms and tempests upon the sea, with many narrow escapes from shipwreck, they at last arrived safe, and begun a work near Charlestown. This adventure being encouraged by the government of that province, the men, puffed up with the expectations of becoming gentlemen soon, wrote to their friends here what a fine way they were in, and this encouraged others to follow them. But change of climate and manner of living, accompanied perhaps with a certain disorder of mind to be mentioned hereafter, (which have always made great havock among the people who have left this country to settle in remote parts) carried them off to so fast, that recruits could not be raised from England sufficient to supply the places of the dead men. In Mr. Godwin's own words to me, whose son was one of them, *they fell sick as they came, and all died quickly*, his son among the rest.

In this narrative, the fate of Mr. Lymer's family (Mr. Bartlem's brother-in-law) with that of young Mr. Allen of Great Fenton (whose sister Mr. Bartlem married) son of the Rev. Mr. Allen and heir to a pretty estate, should not be forgot.

Lymer, at the solicitation of his brother-in-law, not only went over himself, but took with him his wife and two children, and all his effects. They met with very stormy weather, and were at last shipwrecked near an island of which I cannot learn the name. The ship was entirely lost, with all the effects of these passengers, but they themselves happily, and very wonderfully, got on shore, though most of the sailors were drowned.

After the first flood of joy was over for their deliverance from immediate death, they soon found themselves in a most comfortless situation, thrown by the waves upon an unknown island (unknown to them at least, both the place and the people) and destitute of every necessary but the clothes that covered them. In addition to their distress, Mrs. Lymer, who was near downlying when she left England, brought them forth another little sufferer, for whom they had not the least provision, but were left entirely dependant for all things upon the humanity of utter strangers: who, nevertheless, being a kindhearted people, supplied them with clothes for their helpless infant, and meat and drink for themselves; otherwise, they had escaped death at sea, only to meet him in a more terrible form by land.

Young Allen, one of this unfortunate company, too impatient to wait for Mrs. Lymer's being in a condition to put to sea again, shiped himself in a vessel, which he found there, bound for Carolina. The rest followed as soon as they were able, but all the enquiries they could make after young Allen were in vain; neither he nor the ship have ever been heard of from that day to this, so that he was certainly cast away; and they were themselves, alas! reserved only for a more lingering death. Mr. Lymer, his wife, and the two children they took with them, all fell sick and followed the rest of their countrymen into an untimely grave. The poor orphan, that was born in the island where they were shipwrecked, met with a good old lady then going to England, who, touched with its forlorn condition and the fate of its parents, took the poor girl with her, and delivered up her charge to the friends of the deceased, with whom I believe she is living.

Mr. Bartlem thus deprived of his whole colony, returned once more to England, in order to raise some fresh supplies. In a little while by dint of great promises, he prevailed upon four to go with him; but the event of this expedition was only more labour and more lives lost. For though the people there were disposed to encourage this infant manufactory, and the assembly of that state gave him at different times five hundred pounds, to keep him on his legs as long as they could; yet all would not do; the work was abandoned, and only one man returned to England.*

Whilst these fruitless attempts were making in Carolina, another equally fruitless, and equally fatal to our people (for *they* were chiefly employed in it) was carried on in Pensylvania. Here a sort of China ware was aimed at, and eight men went over at first; whether any more, or how many, might follow, I have not learnt. The event was nearly the same in this as in the others; the proprietors, soon finding that they had no chance of succeeding, not only gave up the undertaking, but silenced the just complaints of the poor injured workmen, by clapping one of them (Thomas Gale) into a prison: the rest who had never received half the wages agreed for, were left entirely to shift for themselves. Thus abandoned, as the distance of some thousands of miles from home, and without a penny in their

*This person is William Ellis of Hanley: who informs me that *the wages promised were good enough, a guinea a week with their board, but that they never received half of it.*

pockets, they were reduced to the hard necessity of begging in the public streets for a morsel of bread. Some died immediately, of sickness occasioned by this great change in their prospects and manner of living, being dashed at once from the highest expectations to the lowest and most abject misery. Mr. Byerley a nephew of mine, who was then upon the spot, published in the newspapers, a letter in behalf of the poor survivors, stating the original agreement upon which they have been brought over, the injustice and cruelty of their employers, and the miserable circumstances to which the men were reduced. This had no effect in softening the hearts of their masters towards them, but a subscription was set on foot by the inhabitants for their relief, by which those who had weathered the first storm were supplied with daily bread; but, like plants removed into a foil unnatural to them, they dwindled away and died, and not one was left alive, to return and give us any farther particulars of this affecting tale.

I might here call upon you to reflect on the fate of those, who could not content themselves with the good things of their own land, a land truly *flowing with milk and honey*, and exhort you to beware of falling into the like errors, as you would wish to escape the like fatal consequences. But let the errors of the dead sleep with them. I leave the simple narrative of facts as I have been informed of them, without any comment; and hasten to give you some account of the attempt lately made to entice and betray some of you into foreign service. It was conducted by one George Shaw, who had left this kingdom about ten years ago, and was now sent hither, as he said, from some part of France. He was accompanied by a foreigner, probably because his employers durst not trust him alone with the money necessary for the office he had undertaken.

This man boasted much, as every one who expects to succeed in such a business must do, of his masters, of his own good circumstances, of the wages he receives, &c.— and offered to any men who would go with him double the wages they can get here.

The melancholy examples already mentioned are, I should think, sufficient to prevent our placing much confidence in promises of this kind. But in order to be convinced of the fallacy of the present offer, and the improbability of its ever being made good, at least for any time, I beg your attention to the following observations.

It cannot be supposed that these adventurers, I mean the masters of this George Shaw, who are attempting to rival us abroad, will continue their undertaking without the prospect of being *gainers* by it. Now they certainly cannot be gainers, so long as we are able to fend among them a better and cheaper commodity than they can make themselves: and surely we shall not find it difficult to do this, whilst *they* give double the wages that *we* do. And when it is further considered, that forty shillings a week, the wages he has offered to some of our workmen, is *more than six times* the common rate of wages there, the improbability of its ever being made good will appear still more manifest.

Supposing that any of you were unfortunate to be engaged and carried away to work at this new manufactory; what may we reasonably expect the consequences would be?

Your masters would, no doubt, take apprentices out of the natives of the place, and those apprentices, in a very few years, would learn the business; this has been the case nearer home, in Yorkshire and other places. When such natives have learnt the several branches of the business, and work for the low wages of the country,

can it be supposed that the masters would give you *six times as much*, merely because you are Englishmen? may it not, on the contrary be more reasonably presumed, that they would expect you to work even upon lower terms than the natives? as people of every nation are more disposed to favour their own countrymen than strangers. And such low wages would afford but miserable subsistence to Englishmen, brought up, from their infancy, to better and more substantial fare than frogs, hedge-hogs, and the wild herb of the field!

Your indignation, I made no doubt, will rise at the idea of such wages, and such fare; and you will say, *No! at the worst we can but leave them, and their country, when they attempt so to reduce our wages.* But do not deceive yourselves; you may not have it in your power to leave them. For under arbitrary governments abroad your masters have ways and means enow of keeping those whom they do not chuse to part with; such as inducing them to run in debt, and arresting them for the same; which is a trap that would too easily be fallen into by those who are not content with the wages they get amongst us. But if this or any lesser plots should fail, they have another which must always succeed. They can insinuate to their governors, that you had come among them at first under a false pretence; that you have now learnt some of their valuable arts and manufactures and are preparing to leave their country, and carry these acquisitions to your own. This would be sufficient to have you detained, and perhaps kept prisoners during life. For in France, an officer, with a fort of warrant called a *Lettre de cachet*, will take the first Lord of the land, from his family, or out of his bed, at midnight, to a prison; and not even his nearest relations dare either to resist, or so much as to enquire after him when carried away. How easy then must it be, in such a government, to deprive a poor workman of his liberty!

But supposing that matters are not carried to this extremity with you on such an occasion, and that you are left at large: there is not even then the least probability of your getting away. For a particular description of the party suspected of having such a design, his person, nation, language, and even tone of voice, with an engraved likeness of him where they have an opportunity of taking one, as they would in your case, are sent to every frontier and sea-port town in their dominions, and left in charge with the keepers of the gates. Now as there is no way of going into, or returning from, those countries but through these frontier towns, and as no one can pass through these towns at all without a certificate or passport from the government, you must be convinced from these circumstances of the impossibility of your escaping.

Let me prevail upon you to pause here awhile— to compare the country and situation you have left, with those in which you now find yourselves. In old England, in Staffordshire, you were happily placed amidst populous and thriving towns and manufactures;— amongst people of the same religion, speaking the same language, and brought up in the same habits of life, as yourselves;— among neighbours, who knew you from your infancy, who were inclined to partake as well in your cares as in your pleasures, and to assist you on every occasion of difficulty;— amongst your relations and dearest friends, daily interchanging mutual good offices of love and affection. But turning your eyes from this bright scene, how is the prospect changed! You are now outcasts in a strange land; where the people do not understand *your* language, nor you *theirs*; to whom, therefore, you cannot unbosom yourselves, nor tell your complaints; nor, if you could, would they care for them. They would not care for them, because they must look upon

you as *unworthy members of the community you had before belonged to;*— as having *deserted its cause, endeavoured to ruin its manufactures, and to bring the greatest evil in your power upon the state and neighbourhood where you first drew your breath;*— as having *disregarded the interest of your neighbours and friends whom you left behind, and like Esau, sold your birthright for a mess of pottage!* Such a character as this would scarcely meet with pity even amongst friends; among strangers, nothing can be expected but contempt. In this foreign land then, suspected, watched, despised, and insulted, you must continue to the end of your wretched days.

If such is your condition whilst in full health and vigour, what pangs must you feel when visited by sickness, and in the decline of life. Here, amongst us, you can apply to your parish officers for relief, and if refused, a magistrate will oblige them to grant it to you; but abroad, you will meet with no such institutions as ours. And besides bodily sickness, there is a disease of the mind, peculiar to people in a strange land; a kind of heart-sickness and despair, with an unspeakable longing after their native country, not to be described, and of which no one can have a just idea but those who have been under its influence. Most travellers have felt it, in greater or less degree; many have died of it; and those who have recovered declare it to be worse than death itself.

You may be ready to ask me, *If this case is truly stated, why does Shaw leave his native country again, and return into that scene of misery you are describing*? The question is very much to the purpose; but there is a clear and satisfactory answer to be given to it. He is a *deserter from the army*, (from the 20th regiment of foot) and as such, *his life is forfeited to the laws of his country so that his continuing here is impracticable.* This circumstance is doubtless known to his masters; and it makes him peculiarly proper to be employed as their *decoy-duck* upon such a business, because it ensures his return to them with as many others as he can entice into the net, in order to procure rewards, or better treatment for himself.— But notwithstanding his boasts and pretences, the real feelings of his heart have burst through the disguise, and have betrayed themselves by the tears, which he shed plentifully even while in the midst of those people whom he was labouring to seduce. If at such a time, a moment of all others in which he would naturally put on the *appearance at least* of all the gaiety in his power, he could not smother his anxiety and concern for being under the necessity of quitting his native land; you surely cannot look upon this mans situation in an encouraging light, but rather as a sure pledge of that distress which by following his example you will be unavoidable be led into.

You must by this time be fully convinced, how delusive the offers held out to you are, and how contrary it would be to your interest to accept them. But supposing for a moment, that with regard to your own particular persons there was a real and lasting advantage. Would it have no weight with you to think, that you were ruining a trade, which had taken the united efforts of some thousands of people, for more than an age, to bring to the perfection it has now attained? a perfection no where else to be found,— an object exciting at once the envy and emulation of all Europe! but they will both ever be harmless to us whilst we are true to ourselves: for Englishmen, in arts and manufactures as well as in arms, can only be conquered by Englishmen: the enemy must first gain over some traitors and renegadoes from among ourselves, before they can obtain any decisive advantage. Is there a man among you then who will stand forth, and acknowledge himself to be that traitor to his country and fellow workmen? who will openly avow, that for the sake of a paltry addition to his own wages for a few years, he would betray their interests, and wantonly throw away into the hands of foreigners, perhaps of enemies, the

superiority we have thus laboured for and obtained with to entertain a better opinion of my countrymen, than to suspect that there is a single man who could be so base; and am willing to persuade myself it has been owing to want of thought, or of proper information, that any have thus deserted the cause of their country.

Having now laid before you, in the shortest and simplest manner I am able, the criminality, as well as the bad consequences arising to your country, your friends, and yourselves, from your forsaking your native land and entering into foreign service; let me now shew you the sense which our laws have expressed of this crime, and the provision made by them for preventing or punishing it; that so, knowing the danger, as well as the evil, you may avoid them both.

"By *5th* Geo, ch. 27. It is enacted, That if any person or persons shall contract with, entice, endeavour to persuade, or solicit any manufacturer or artificer in wool, iron, brass, &c.— or other artificer or manufacturer of Great Britain, to go out of this kingdom into any foreign country out of his Majesty's dominions, and shall be lawfully convicted thereof, upon any indictment or information, which shall be preferred or brought against him or them, in any of his Majesty's courts at Westminster, or at the assizes, or general goal delivery, or quarter sessions of the peace, for the county, riding, or division, where such offence shall be committed, the person or persons so convict, shall be fined any sum not exceeding one hundred pounds for such first offence, according to the discretion of the court in which such conviction shall be, and shall be imprisoned for the space of three months, and until such fine shall be paid; and if any person or persons having been once convict, as aforesaid, shall offend again, and be so convict a second time, shall be fined at the discretion of the court where such conviction shall be, and be imprisoned for twelve months, and until such fine shall be paid."

"And it is further enacted, That if any of his Majesty's subjects within this kingdom, being such artificer, or manufacturer, as aforesaid, shall go into any country out of his Majesty's dominions, there to use or exercise, or to teach any of the said trades or manufactories to foreigners, or in case any of his Majesty's subjects now being, or who hereafter shall be in any such foreign country out of his Majesty's dominions, as aforesaid, and there using or exercising any of the said trades or manufactories herein before mentioned, shall not return into this realm within six months next after warning shall be given to him by the embassador, envoy, resident, minister, or consul, of the Crown of Great Britain in the country in which such artificer shall be, or by any person authorized by such ambassador, envoy, resident, minister, or consul, or by one his Majesty's secretaries of state for the time being, and from thenceforth continually inhabit and dwell within this realm, then, and in such case, every such person or persons shall be from thenceforth encapable of taking any legacy that shall be devised to him within this kingdom, or of being an executor, or administrator to any person or persons within this kingdom by descent, devise, or purchase, and also forfeit all his lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, within this kingdom, to his Majesty's use, and shall from thenceforth be, and be deemed and taken to be an alien, and shall be out of his Majesty's protection."

"And it is further enacted, That upon complaint made upon oath before any justice or justices of the peace, that any person or persons is, or are endeavouring to seduce or draw away any such manufacturer or artificer, as aforesaid, out of his Majesty's dominions, for any of the purposes aforesaid, or that any such manufacturer or artificer as aforesaid, hath contracted, promised, or is preparing to go out

of his Majesty's dominions, for any the purposes aforesaid, then and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the justice or justices of the peace unto whom such complaint shall be made, to send forth his warrant to bring the person and persons so complained of, before him or them, or some other of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the same county, riding, division, or city; and if when such person or persons shall be so brought before such justice or justices, by the oath or oaths of one or more credible witness or witnesses, or by the confession of the party or parties, so brought before him or them, that the party so complained of was guilty of any of the said offences, then, and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for such justice and justices to bind the person so charged to appear at the next assizes, general goal delivery, or quarter sessions of the peace for the country, city, riding, or division, where such offence shall be committed, to answer the premises, with reasonable sureties, for such his appearance; and in case such person or persons shall refuse or neglect to give such security, then, and in such case, it shall and may be lawful, to and for such justice and justices, to commit the person or persons so refusing to the country goal, there to be kept until the next assizes, or next quarter sessions of the county, city, riding, or division, where such commitment shall be, at the election of such justice of the peace, and until he, she, or they shall be delivered by due course of law, and in case any such artificer, or manufacturer shall be convict upon any indictment to be preferred against him at such assizes, or general goal delivery, or quarter sessions of the peace, as aforesaid, of any such promise or contract, or preparation to go abroad beyond the seas, for any of the purposes aforesaid, then, and in such case, the person so convict shall give such security to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, not to depart out of his Majesty's dominions for any the purposes aforesaid, as such court shall think reasonable, and shall be imprisoned until such security shall be given."

"By 23*rd* Geo. 2d. It is enacted That if any person or persons shall contract with, entice, persuade, or endeavour to persuade, solicit, or seduce any manufacturer, workman, or artificer, of or in any of the manufactories of Great Britain or Ireland, or what nature or kind soever, to go out of this kingdom, or out of the kingdom of Ireland, into any foreign country, not within the dominions of, or belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and shall be lawfully convicted thereof, upon any indictment or information to be preferred or brought against him, her, or them, in his Majesty's court of King's bench at Westminster, or by indictment at the assizes or general goal delivery for the county, riding, or division, wherein such offence shall be committed, the person or persons so convicted, shall, for every artificer, workman, or manufacturer, so by him, her, or them, respectively contracted with enticed, persuaded, solicited, or seduced, severally forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain; and shall also suffer imprisonment in the common goal of the country, riding, division, shire, or stewartry, wherein such offender or offenders shall be respectively convicted, for the space of twelve calendar months without bail or mainprize, and until such forfeiture shall be paid; and in case of a further conviction, in manner before prescribed by this act, for or upon a second or other subsequent offence of the same kind, the person or persons so again offending, shall upon every second or other subsequent conviction, severally forfeit for every person so by him, her, or them, respectively contracted with, enticed, persuaded, solicited, seduced, the sum of one thousand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain; and shall also suffer imprisonment, in

the common goal of the county, riding, division, shire, or stewartry wherein such offender shall be respectively convicted, for the space of two years, without bail or mainprize, and until such forfeitures shall be paid."

"And it is further enacted, That one moeity of the respective forfeitures inflicted upon such offenders, shall when recovered, go and be applied to the use of his Majesty; and the other moeity to the use of the person or persons who shall sue and prosecute for the same respectively."

That no motive may be wanting for the performance of your duty, in concurring with your masters in every endeavour to secure to you and your children the full enjoyment of your birthright in the manufacture you were brought up to; they offer you FIFTY GUINEAS reward, besides what you are entitled to by act of Parliament, for every person apprehended by you, who shall be convicted of endeavouring to entice or hire any of our potters into foreign service.

Appendix 2.

Bartlam's Accounts with the Unknown Camden Merchant,

August 1779-March 1780.

	21 August 1779, Camden:	
	John Bartlum [sic]	
	D. To Store for short paid on 1 Coffie	8.2.6
	John Bartlum	
	D. To Store for 1 qt. Rum	19.10
	27 August 1779:	
	Sundries D. To Store Vizt...	
	John Bartlum for 2 Coffie at 9.15	19.10
	Sundries D. Store Vizt...	
	John Bartlum for 6 Sugar at £ 6.10	
	1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	58.10
	31 August 1779:	
	24 Cash to Sundries	
7	John Bartlum Recd. of his Wife	19.10
	September 1779:	
7	John Bartlum for 1 qt. W.J. Rum	19.10
	September 1779:	
7	John Bartlum for 6 Sugar at 6.10/	39.
	September 1779:	
7	John Bartlum for 1/2 gallon W.J. Rum	39.
	12 yards oznaburg at 16.5/	195.
7	John Bartlum for 1 quart Rum	19.10
	John Bartlum for 4 Sugar at 6.10/.	
	3 Pints Rum £ 28.5/.	54.5
	September 1779	
7	John Bartlum for 1 Peck Salt	24.7.6
	24 1 qt. W.J. Rum £ 19.10	
	4 Sugar £ 6.10/	45.10
	25 1 p. Mens Shoes	32.10
		102.7.6
	Store D. to Sundries	
7	John Bartlum for 1 Hhd. Tobacco w. 620 @ £ 90	558.
7	John Bartlum (Deld. Spouse) 6 Sugar a 6.10/	39.
	October 1779	
7	John Bartlum (Deld. him) 1 qt. W.J. Rum £ 19.10	19.10
	October 1779	
7	John Bartlum (Deld. Nancy) 5 Sugar a £ 1.10	32.10
	1 Coffie £ 9.15/. 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	29.5
		61.5

7		John Bartlum (Deld. Nancy) 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	
7		John Bartlum Deld. Boy 3 Pints Rum	29.5
		1 qt. ditto £ 19.10	19.10
			48.15
	October 1779		
7	19	John Bartlum Deld. Spouse 1/2 Tea	19.10
	October 1779		
7	20	John Bartlum (Deld. Boy) 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	19.10
7	22	John Bartlum Deld. him 4 Sugar a 6.10/	
		1 Pint Rum 9.15/.	35.15
7	26	John Bartlum (Deld. Nancy) 3 Pints Rum a £ 9.15/	
		3 Sugar a £ 6.10/	48.15
	October 1779		
7	28	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 3 Pints Rum a £ 9.15	29.15
	October 1779		
7	29	John Bartlum Deld. Sloan 1 qt. Rum	
		Rum £ 19.10/. 2 Coffie a £ 9.15	39.
	November 1779		
7	1	John Bartlum (Deld. Boy) 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10/	19.10
7	5	John Bartlum Deld. him 3 Pints Rum a 9.15/.	29.5
	November 1779		
7	8	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 1 pt. Rum a 9.15/.	9.15
7	9	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 1 pt. Rum a 9.15/.	9.15
	November 1779		
7	19	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 4 Sugar a £ 6.10/.	
		1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	45.10
7		John Bartlum for Earthen Ware amounting to	56.1.3
	November 1779		
7	23	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10/	19.10
7		John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 6 Sugar a £ 6.10/.	
		1/2 Tea £ 19.10	58.10
	November 1779		
7	27	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 3 Pints Rum £ 29.5/.	29.5
	December 1779		
7	3	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 3 Pints Rum £ 29.5/	29.5
7	6	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 1 qt. Rum £ 19.10	19.10
	December 1779		
7	9	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 2 qts. Rum a £ 16.5/	
		Cash £ 1.12/6.	34.2.6
	December 1779		
7	10	John Bartlum Deld. Boy 1 qt. Rum £ 16.5/.	16.5

		December 1779	
7	17	John Bartlum Deld. Boy 4 Sugar a £ 16.10/. 1 Tobacco 32/6	27.12.6
7	20	John Bartlum Deld. Nancy 3 quarts Rum a £ 26	78.
		December 1779	
7	23	John Bartlum Deld. Spouse 4 Sugar at £ 6.10/. 1/2 Tea £ 19.10/. 3 Pints Rum £ 39	26. 48.10 84.10
		December 1779	
7	27	John Bartlum Deld. Barnett 3 Pints Rum £ 39.	39.
7	28	John Bartlum Deld. Moses 3 Pints Rum £ 39	39.
7	29	John Bartlum Deld. Boy 1 qt. Rum £ 26	26.
		January 1780	
		Sundries To Store	
7		John Bartlam Deld. Negro Girl Dianna 3 Pints Rum a 8 dollrs.	39.
		January 1780	
		Sundries To Store	
7		John Bartlam Dld. Negro Wench Dianna 1 quart Rum 18 dollrs.	29.5.
7	6	John Bartlam dld. Negro Girl Dianna 3 Pints Rum a 9 dollrs.	43.17.6
		January 1780	
7	8	John Bartlam dld. Negro dianna [sic] 1 Quart Rum 18 dollrs.	29.5
	15	1 do Ditto do	29.5
	17	1 do Ditto do	29.5
	19	1 do Ditto do dld. Barnett	29.5
			117.
		January 1780	
		Store to Sundries	
7		To Jno. Bartlam 19th for 20 Earthen Bottles a 2 1/2 dollrs. 7 do a 3 1/2 ditto	121.1.3
		February 1780	
		Sundries To Store	
7	5	Jno. Bartlam dld. Negro diana [sic] 1 Qt. West India Rum 20 doll.	32.10
	11	10 Sugar a 4 dollrs. 2 Tea 15 do.	89.7.6
	10	Bta of Sundries wrong carrd out in Journal 10.	22.7.6
		March 1780	
		Sundries To Store	
7	1	Jno. Bartlam Deliverd. p Order 1 qt. Rum 20 dollrs. 2 Coffee a 8 dollrs	58.10.

FOOTNOTES

1. Information courtesy of Arnold Mountford, past Director, City Museum, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, 20 July 1973.
2. Stafford Records Society, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England; hereafter cited as S. R. S.
3. *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 16 May 1769.
4. Great Fenton and Lane Delph are next to one another and just below Stoke-on-Trent. S. R. S.
5. Parish Register Trentham Church, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, 3: 459, 469, 476, 492; courtesy of the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City.
6. Stoke Parish Register, S. R. S.
7. J. V. C. Mallet, "John Baddeley of Shelton, An Early Staffordshire Maker of Pottery and Porcelain, Part II," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 6, Pt. 3 (1967): 206; Aqualate Papers, D. 1788, v. 102: 1, courtesy of F. B. Stitt, County Archivist, William Salt Library, Stafford, England.
8. Information courtesy Arnold Mountford, 20 July 1973; Mallet, "John Baddeley," 207.
9. Stoke-on-Trent Parish Register, 25 Jan. 1763, courtesy of Arnold Mountford.
10. Aqualate Papers, p. 14, Courtesy of Mr. J. V. C. Mallet, Department of Ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
11. Josiah Wedgwood, *An Address to the Workmen in the Pottery on the Subject of Entering into the Service of Foreign Manufacturers* (Newcastle, Staffordshire, 1783), 5-7. See Appendix 1.
12. Ann Finer and George Savage, eds., *The Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1965), 267-9.
13. Wedgwood, *Address*, 5.
14. No records of the named workers family names could be found in Charleston, S. C., records. Wedgwood, *Address*, 5-7.
15. Translated from the German language manuscript in the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N. C., by Frances Cumnock.
16. Finer and Savage, *Selected Letters*, 28-9.
17. Records of the Public Treasurer of South Carolina, 1735-76, Journal B, 327, 377, 402, 423.
18. See Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "A Clay White as Lime . . . of Which There is a Design Formed by Some Gentleman to Make China:" The American and English Search for Cherokee Clay in South Carolina, 1747-1775," in this issue of the *Journal*.
19. Charleston *South-Carolina Gazette*, 17 Jan. 1736; hereafter cited as *SCG*.
20. "£90.0.0- Cainhoy 29 January 1766. At three Months after date I promise to pay to Mr. Robert Daniel on his order the Sum of Ninety pounds Current Money of the province of South Carolina for value received by me John Bartlam." South Carolina Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, Box 76-B, Roll 59-A, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

21. Alphabetical index of land holdings, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.
22. Charleston County Wills, Will Book B, 1786-93, 396.
23. Charleston County Inventories, 1787-93, 288.
24. Much of this information can be found in the McCrady Plats, nos. 4348, 4353, 4366, 4374, 4375, 4385, and 4389, South Carolina Department of Archives and History microfilm. Conversation with Stanley South, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, who has seen a plat with the names of the three merchants on it.
25. Mrs. Claudia Barber, Key West, Fla., letter to author, 16 June 1984.
26. *SCG*, 20 Nov. 1753 and 31 Dec. 1763; McCrady's Plats, nos. 4353, 4371, 4375.
27. S. C. Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, Box 76B, Roll 59A.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. South Carolina Mortgages, No. A. A. A., 1766-9, pt. 2, 343.
31. Judgment Rolls, Box 76B, Roll 59A.
32. Charleston County Land Records, Miscellaneous, Pt. 51, Book G4, 1 Nov. 1772.
33. Journals of the Commons House of Assembly (J.C.H.A.), 28 Nov. 1769-8 Sept. 1769, unpublished mss. No. 38, pt. 2, p. 217, S. C. Dept. of Archives and History.
34. Ibid., 217, 236.
35. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "Andrew Duche: A Potter 'A Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks,'" *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1 (May 1991): 1-101.
36. Charleston cabinetmaker John Prue, for example, advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 9 March 1769 that he supported the use of "HOME-SPUN CLOTH."
37. Several editorials and letters published in the *South Carolina Gazette* of 6, 11, and 13 July 1769 also offer a background to understanding the feeling for promoting American manufactures in Charleston.
38. See Graham Hood, *Bonnin and Morris of Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1972).
39. This advertisement also appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, 4 Apr. 1770.
40. *SCG*, 28 Mar., 27 June 1761.
41. There were two John Gordons in South Carolina at that time, both of whom died within a year of each other, and both of whom were merchants. Henry Laurens Journal, February 1768-May 1773, Special Collections, College of Charleston, 352.
42. See Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "A Clay White as Lime . . . of Which There is a Design Formed by Some Gentleman to Make China:" The American and English Search for Cherokee Clay in South Carolina, 1747-1775," in this issue of the *Journal*.

43. Inventory Book AA, 1772-76, Charleston County, 402-414.
44. This advertisement also appears in Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina* 1 (Philadelphia, 1929), 112.
45. Wedgwood, *Address*, 7.
46. *SCG*, 8 Nov. 1770.
47. During the 1770s, creamware came to be known as Queen's ware. The term was derived from the china with a raised rim design taken from the "barley" pattern found on salt-glazed stoneware plates, but without the barley, that Wedgwood gave Queen Charlotte in 1762. Creamware with the "feather-edge" and "shelledge" patterns was also called Queen's ware. Queen's ware was exported from England to the colonies. On 14 May 1772 Samuel Harvey Howard of Annapolis advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that he had "Just imported from London, in the *Peace and Plenty*, Capt. Thomas Smith . . . pencil'd and gilt Queen's China." See also Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1969), 125-6.
48. Charleston Museum, "The Streets of Charleston," unpublished ms., 1950s.
49. Joseph Brevard Kershaw Papers, 1762-1857, Acc. 836-SC, Note 5767, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
50. Kenneth E. Lewis, "Camden: A Frontier Town in Eighteenth Century South Carolina," *Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology: Anthropological Studies* 2 (Columbia. S. C., 1976, 21-4, 52, 57; Kenneth E. Lewis, "The Camden Jail and Market Site: a Report on Preliminary Investigations," *South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Notebook* 16 (Oct.-Dec. 1984), Vol. Kenneth E. Lewis, "A Functional Study of the Kershaw House Site in Camden, South Carolina," *The Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Notebook* 9 (Jan.-Dec. 1977); Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden* (Columbia, S. C., 1905), Pt. 1, 18, fig. 9; Judith Jane Schultz, "The Rise and Decline of Camden as South Carolina's Major Inland Trading Center, 1751-1829: A Historical Geographical Study," M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1972; Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, eds., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1692-1775* (Columbia, S. C.), 374-7; "Colorful Story Behind Camden's Name," *New South Carolina State Gazette* 21, nos. 1, 2 (Winter 1989): 3.
51. With the exception of William Ellis— see Appendix 3.
52. Joseph Kershaw was the sheriff. A. S. Salley, ed., "Diary of William Dillwyn During a Visit to Charles town in 1772," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 36, No. 2 (Apr. 1935): 34.
53. "The usual place of judicature at the first sitting of the Court of Common Pleas or General Sessions which shall happen three months after the publication hereof and show cause if any they can, why the said petitioner should not have the prayer of petition granted" was added after "appear at the Court House in Camden" in the 2 November notice.
54. Kershaw Papers.
55. Joseph Kershaw Account Book, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 4, 283, 300; Joseph Kershaw Day Book, 1774-1775, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 300.

56. Further insight on Mr. Kershaw is found in the Christopher French Journals, 1756-78, in which, on 5 November 1761, French recorded that he "dined wth one Mr. Wyly an Irish Quaker a hearty merry man, he was very civil to us & very interesting[.] at night we sup'd [sic] with a Mr. Kershaw, who was also very oblidging. This last keeps a large Store in a Fort of his own building." Library of Congress microfilm, No. 17, 453, 169; Joseph A. Ernts and H. Roy Merens, "'Camden's Turrets Pierce the Skies!': The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies During the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d. Ser., 30, No. 4 (Oct. 1973): 564; James Clitherall Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 159-SC, 5.

57. Kershaw Papers.

58. S. C. Court of Common Pleas, Box 135B, Roll 10A, S. C. Dept. Archives and History.

59. Unidentified Account Book, ms., Camden District Heritage Foundation, S. C., 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 49, 52, 57, courtesy of Mrs. Alice Leavell, Sumter, S. C., 1984.

60. Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America...* 1787, reprint (New York, 1968), 473-5; Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* 1869, reprinted as *The American Revolution in the South* (New York, 1969), 332-46; John Richard Alden, *The American Revolution* (New York, 1954), 233-5; Henry Lee, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* (Spartanburg, S. C., 1975).

61. Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., ed., "Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1936-1940,* Vol. (1937): 43-4; Leonardo Andrea, "Loyalists in South Carolina," unpublished ms., Columbia, 2.

62. Charleston Co. Letters of Administration, Vol. OO, 1775-85, 159.

63. "Inventory & appraisement of the Estate & Effects of John Bartlam deceased as shown to us this third day of Octr. 1781 by Mary Bartlam Administratrix of the said Estate—

2 Beds- 3 Pillows- 2 Bolsters-	3. 2. 6
3 Blankets- 3 Sheets- 1 Counterpane	1. 8.
1 Mattrass- 5 Silver Tea Spoons	-.17.
1 Silver pair of Tea Tongs- broke	-. 3. 6
6 Saucers & 4 Tea Cups	-. 1.
1 Small tin Sugar Cannister	-. -. 4
1 Bridle and one pair of Saddle Bags	-. 7. 6
1 Small Box of Indigo supposed 30 wt.	1.10.
1 Keg of White Lead supposed 9 wt.	1.10.
1 Tea Kettle	-. 2.
The Total	9. 8.10

Jno. Savage
Geo Robt. Williams
Leonard Askew."

Charleston Co. Inventory Book BB, 1776-84, 214.

64. British Records Office, Kew, England, A. O. 1395, Pt 1. 03051.
65. Ibid.
66. Wilber Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785* 2 (Deland, Fla., 1979), 31, 87-9; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784* (Gainesville, Fla., 1964), 145.
67. Ibid., 333-335, 350; Wilber Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785* 1 (Deland, Fla., 1979), 54-6.
68. Kershaw County Records, Book B, 132; Kershaw Papers; S. C. Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, Box 135B, Roll 10A; Charleston County Inventories, 1787-93, 120-21.
69. Lewis, *Camden: A Frontier Town*, 170; Kershaw Papers, Box 1, folder 1.
70. Thomas Waites was the attorney for Joseph Kershaw and Robert Pringle was the attorney for William and Sarah Lee, et al. S. C. Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, Box 135 B, Roll 10 A.
71. British Records Office, A. O. 1395, Pt. 1, 03051.
72. Ibid.
73. Courtesy of Mrs. Claudia Barber, Key West, Fla., 30 Apr. 1990.
74. David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina from Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, 2 vols. (Charleston, 1809), 2: 596-7.
75. Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina* 1826, reprint (Spartanburg, S. C., 1972), 589-90.
76. Stanley South, "The Ceramic Forms of the Potter Gottfried Aust at Bethabara, North Carolina, 1755-1771, *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1965-1966* 1 (1967): 33-52; Bradford L. Rauschenberg "A Sprigg Mould for 'Flowers for the fine pottery,'" *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 2 (1967): 107-22; Stanley South, "The Ceramic Ware of the Potter Rudolph Christ at Bethabara and Salem, North Carolina, 1786-1821," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 3, Pt. 1 (1968): 70-72; Stanley South, "A Comment on Alkaline Glazed Stoneware," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 5, pt. 2 (1970): 171-85; John Bivins, Jr., *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1972), 150-55, 165-74; Stanley South, "Archaeological Excavation at the Site of Williamson's Fort of 1775, Holmes' Fort of 1780, and the Town of Cambridge of 1783-1850s," *Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Research Manuscript Series*, No. 18 (1972); Kenneth E. Lewis, "Archaeological Investigations at the Kershaw House, Camden, Kershaw County, South Carolina," *Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Research Manuscript Series* No. 67 (1975); Leland G. Ferguson, "Analysis of Ceramic Material from Fort Watson, December 1780-April 1781," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 8 (1975): 2-28; Lewis, "Camden," 169-73.
77. Dr. George Perry, Vice Provost, University of South Carolina, and several other people located and surface-collected these sherds. Several other people, after many hours of searching, also located small quantities of bisque material scattered in another Cain Hoy location.
78. F. H. Garner and Michael Archer, *English Delftware* (London, 1972), figs. 39B, 43A; J. K. Crellin, *Medical Ceramics* (London, 1969), 9, figs. D-F, 115, figs. 211-228.

79. M. Mellany Delhom, *The Delhom Gallery Guide to English Pottery* (Charlotte, N. C., 1982), 71, fig. 107;
80. Rita E. McCarthy and Olivia M. White, *Eighteenth-Century English Pottery* (Chicago, 1991), 34-35, fig. 9; Donald Towner, *Creamware* (London, 1978), 34-9.
81. Garner and Archer, *English Delftware*, fig. 89a; Bernard Watney, *English Blue and White Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1965), fig. 48b; Elizabeth Adams and David Redstone, *Bow Porcelain* (London, 1981), figs. 17, 90, 92, 103.
82. William M. Kelso, *Captain Jones's Wormsloe* (Athens, Ga., 1979), 6, 39-45.
83. Ibid., 120-21.
84. Rauschenberg, "Sprigg Mould," 107-22.
85. Lewis, "Camden," 169-73.

"A Clay White as Lime . . . of Which There is a Design Formed by Some Gentlemen to Make China:" The American and English Search for Cherokee Clay in South Carolina, 1745-75.

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

The search for the Cherokee clay, the story of which began when Andrew Duche was still in the Low Country, continued long after Duche had left the region.[1] The English were most anxious to locate it, so that they could produce porcelain, and Wedgwood, as we shall see, was active in not only trying to use the clay to his advantage, but also trying to prevent American production. Several prominent South Carolinians were also involved in the race to collect the clay, as were the proprietors of the Bonnin and Morris factory in Philadelphia.

The export of kaolin from South Carolina to England began in the 1740s. On 5 June 1747 Robert Pringle recorded: "Ship't on board the Sloop Triton Capt Sam. Barrows for London . . . 1 Bag White Clay . . . Consign'd to my Brother," in his journal.[2] According to David Ramsay, in 1755, Dr. Alexander Garden, a Charleston physician and naturalist who was travelling with Governor James Glen of South Carolina, "penetrated into the indian country, and formed a treaty with the cherokees in their own mountains. In this expedition doctor Garden discovered an earth which on a fair trial by the manufactures at Worcester, in Great-Britain, was deemed equal to the finest porcelain that was ever imported from India. Unfortunately no precise knowledge can now [1809] be had of the spot where this valuable earth was found.

Hitherto no knowledge has resulted from this discovery, though no doubt exists of its reality and importance."[3] Two years later, on 10 May 1759, Garden wrote Henry Baker, one of the founders of the Royal Society of Arts: "I have procured some more of the different layers of Savannah Bluff for you this is part of a Vein that runs from N. E. to S. West about 100 miles from the Sea across this & the Province of Georgia— I send by this Vessel some Small specimens in a Box put on Board of Capt. Rains Vessel for London."[4] This "Savannah Bluff" is the kaolin located above Savannah, Georgia.[5] Garden had also sent clay samples to Peter Collinson and John Ellis in England a few years earlier.[6]

Henry Laurens, another prominent Charleston merchant and planter, became interested in the Cherokee clay at about the same time that Garden was sending samples to England. On 24 January 1757 Laurens wrote Thomas Mears of Liverpool: "We will send by the first opportunity that shall present for 2 or 300lb. weight of the Cherokee Clay. 'Tis not often in our power to get it down as it lies at the distance of 3 or 400 Miles." Mears had requested this clay.[7] On 30 October 1764 Laurens wrote Andrew Williamson, of Ninety Six, South Carolina, a town in the upcountry about halfway between Charleston and the Cherokee area: "I am applied to by a particular friend to procure a Specimen of our Cherokee Clay for making potters fine Ware. Can you help me at any reasonable expence & soon to the quantity of a Flower Barrel full. If you can, don't regard a little expence but let it be of the true sort."[8] Laurens's request for "a Flower Barrel full" of clay on 30 October 1764 is interesting; between "the 1st day of Nov. 1763 to the 1st day of Nov. 1764," "Porcelain Earth 1 barrel" left the port of Charleston to an unknown person and destination. It is unfortunate that the exporter was not revealed.[9] Apparently Williamson was the right person for Laurens to ask for the clay. After Williamson had guided Captain Gavin Cochrane through the Backcountry to Keowee, Cochrane described the area to General Gage in correspondence dated 4 January 1765: "the houses are remarkably neat & plaistered with a clay white as lime which is found in this Country & of which there is a Design formed by some gentlemen to make china."[10]

By 1765 more Charlestonians had become involved in the clay story. On 25 July 1765 Caleb Lloyd, collector of stamps in Charleston, brother-in-law to Richard Champion, a Bristol merchant and porcelain developer, wrote Champion requesting "your

care of a box of Porcelain Earth which I have sent you by this vessel to be forwarded to Worcester to the Proprietors of the China Manufactory there, to have a few pieces of china made of it for me, agreably to a List I enclose. I have desired them to spare no expense about it, and to send it to you to be forwarded to me. It was at considerable pains and expence this Earth was procured. It comes from the internal part of the Cherokee Nations, 400 miles from hence, on mountains scarcely accessible."[11] It would be wonderful if Lloyd's list could be located. Part of it probably included "some vases for the Governor of South Carolina." Champion responded on 7 November 1765: "I have sent part of that parcel of Porcelain Earth to the Worcester Tonquin Manufacture, adressed for the attention of Richard Holdship, as you requested me. When the pieces of China you have requested are done, I will send them to you by my next vessel."[12] Apparently problems arose, for Champion informed Lloyd on 15 December 1765 that he had "not had a line from Worcester about the China."[13] On 15 March 1766 "3 Casks Clay" cleared the port of Charleston and could well have been more for Champion or even Wedgwood. With so much interest in clay it cannot be discerned if it was sent by Lloyd or Laurens.[14] On 23 October 1766 Lloyd again wrote Champion, this time in a rather discouraging tone: "It is not worthwile attending to the clay. If they [at Worcester] were desirous of encouraging the importation, difficulties would not have been raised. . . . It was a matter of curiosity to me merely to have some pieces made for my friend the Lieutenant Governor but I never considered it possible to make it an article of commerce as the immense distances from which it was brought by land carriage enhances the price so much, that it is an insurmountable objection."[15]

It is possible that John Bartlam was involved in the collection of the Cherokee clay. As a trained potter, he would be able to recognize kaolin and its properties. Since he openly requested "any Kind of fine Clay," it is likely that the merchants involved in its exportation told him of the important commodity hidden in the mountains of the Cherokee country. Wedgwood thought that Bartlam had use of the Cherokee clay, and he took an active interest in the events in South Carolina surrounding its discovery and collection. Wedgwood's fears of American competition hindering England's attempts to make and market porcelain and other fine ware are well-documented in a series of letters he wrote during the 1760s and 1770s. Among this correspondence is an oblique reference to a

South Carolina pottery, the master of which Wedgwood does not name, but who may have been John Bartlam.

In March 1766, Wedgwood wrote Thomas Bently, a merchant in Liverpool, and told him: "I have had a letter from Dr. Fothergill not long since who tells me he has a fr[ien]d who has lately been at the place where the Cherokee earth is got, that he could easily procure me a few hundd. pounds of it for tryal, but it will unavoidably come so dear that unless the finest Porcel can be made of it, it cannot answer."[16] In July 1766 Bently received another communique from Wedgwood, still anxious about the Cherokee Clay: "Please to give my compliments to Mr. Vigor & desire he will send the few pounds of earth he has by him that I may give it a fair tryal . . . He told me that it came from South Carolina, that he had a large boxfull of it sent to him by a Gentn. of his Acquaintance, but he could make nothing at all of it and return'd the remainder to his friend again . . . I have made that it [the clay] will require some percular managing the difficulties attending the use of it."[17] Wedgwood did not limit his interest to clay found in South Carolina. In a 17 November 1766 letter, Wedgwood informed Bently that a "Pensacola Clay is better worth attending than the Cherokee . . . if it be equal to the Cherokee, & I shoul'd be glad to have a Ton by way of sample as soon as may be."[18]

On 18 February 1767, Wedgwood, apparently impatient for a reply from Mr. Vigor, wrote Bently: "If you go to Manchester soon I wish you would see Mr. Vigor, & know if he hath done anything towards procuring some of the Cherokee Earth, he promise'd me to see or write to his friend about it, I think I was to have a letter with his friend's proposals, but have heard nothing from either."[19] A few months later, on 20 May 1767, Wedgwood informed Bently of his theories about the location of the clay:

> I am in search of the Town where the Steatites grows, & I believe I shall learn every particular about it. One Dr. Mitchel has just published a Map of N. A. price a Guinea & on Cloth, wch. map I have purchased & am to visit the Dr. who is a Naturalist, Fossilist, etc. & has resided long in South Carolina. I find the Town in his Map to be Hyoree [fig. 1], & the same in a Map in the Committee room at the House of Commons. The mistake of a [letter] as the sound is not very different was easy to make either by Mr. V[igor] or myself, & as the situation answers the discription he first gave me I am pretty certain it is the place.[20]

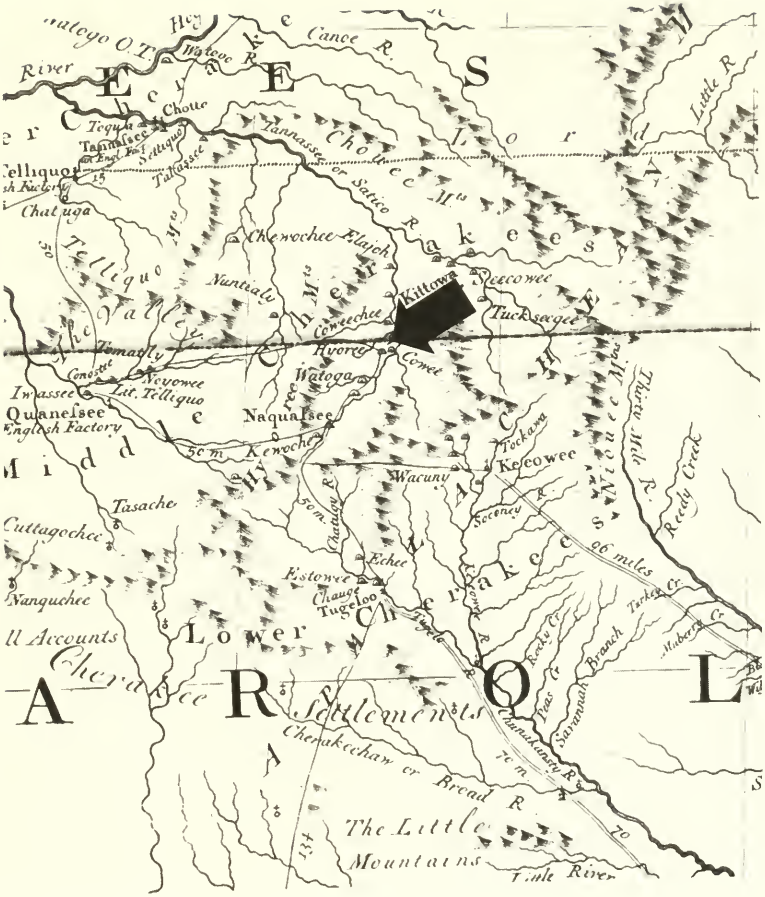


Figure 1. Detail of John Mitchell's A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America *engraved by Thomas Kitchin, London, 13 February 1775. Wedgwood used this map to locate what he understood to be the source of kaolin in the Cherokee country: Hyoree, which is indicated by the arrow. Later, Thomas Griffiths traveled to "Ayoree" to collect the clay. 76 3/4" X 53". Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia. MRF S-984.*

Three days later, in a note to Bently dated 23 May 1767, Wedgwood added:

> I stand in so much of your company, advice, and assistance . . . A Patent, or Exclusive Property in the Cherokees [mountains], is business enough of it self to sollicit and proscute in the best manner. I had a Conference with his Grace of Bridgewater yesterday morning for an hour, and hinted the matter to him . . . [later I] had a long Conference with his Grace of Bridgewater on the subject of the Cherokee. I had laid the whole case before him without any reserve, and found the confidence I had placed in his honour and advice was not disagreeable. He does not think a Patient will stand for an exclusive right to the Cherokees, and upon the whole advises to send a person over immediately without applying for grant, Patient, or anything else. [Charles] Townsend, says, as Chancelor of the Exchequer might be applied to grant it me Duty free and to lay a duty upon all imported by others. . . . I am informed they have got the Cherok[ee] [clay] to a Pottwork at Charles Town. It [the clay] lyes 300 Miles up the Country, and at some distance from Water Carriage.[21]

It is obvious that Wedgwood was concerned about clay being found in the land owned by the Cherokees. The "Pottwork at Charles Town" notation appears to be a reference to Bartlam's pottery, although it is interesting that Wedgwood did not name Bartlam as the master. From the information that Wedgwood received, the clay was already at the Charleston pottery. If so, it seems likely that Bartlam took part in the collecting of Cherokee clay for his pottery, and if he did, it explains why there is little mention of him for about a year and a half in Charleston records. He may have travelled "300 Miles up the Country" in search of clay or had agents negotiating and collecting for him.

Wedgwood's May 1767 correspondence to Bently continued on 27 May: "I spent yesterday afternoon & Eveng. with two or three Gentn. who had resided long in South Carolina, one of whom gave me a sample of the Cherokee Earth, by way of Curosity, not knowing who, or what I was, for I kept in Cog[nito]. I find that the E[arth] must be carrd. near 300 miles by Land Carre. which will make it come very heavy. I have had a long Conference with Mr. Griffiths, & am inclin'd to employ him, but shall be glad to contrive some restrictions to prevent his doing too much mischief if he shod.

be so inclin'd."[22] With the clay problem still on his mind, Wedgwood again wrote Bently on 31 May that he was facing:

> new difficultys [which] spring up as I proceed in the business of the [Cherokee Clay]. A Grant must pass through the hands of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Amongst whom are Fitzherbert, Member for Derby. A Lord something Clare—Member for Bristol, at both places are China and Pottsworks, so I dare not come there. . . . I waited upon Lord Glover on Saturday last and laid the whole of my difficultys and designs before him, and he told me he had many Personal but no Political friends in the Administration, but if I could wait for a Change he should perhaps be able to serve me. I told his Lordship the danger I apprehended from delaying, as several Persons had seen the C[lay]. He told me that he had got the Attorney-General of S C [Sir Edgerton Leigh] the place he enjoyed, that he was a sensable Man and everything with the Governor [Lord Charles Montague], who is amongst friends, said his Lordship, a mear nobody. The result was that his Lordship advised me to send immediately to S C and he would put my Agent under the protection of the Attorney-General, to which I assented, and now preparing matters for Mr G[riffiths] to embark as soon as possible.[23]

Wedgwood's friend, Dr. Ralph Griffith, editor of *Monthly Review*, had a brother, Thomas Griffiths, who lived and owned interest in land near "Crown Point," South Carolina. Thomas Griffith was "seasoned to the S. C. climate by a severe fever he underwent at Cha. Town & has had many connections with the Indians." He was in England and offered "his service to me for the Voyage." In July 1767 Wedgwood sent Thomas Griffiths to South Carolina at a salary of £50 per year.

On 6 June a letter to Bentley revealed Wedgwood's plans for Griffiths: "I have agreed with Mr. G[riffiths] for him to sail in the first ship. . . . yesterday Mr. Hodgson waited upon a Mercht. here who has a partner in Chast. to fix a Credit there for Mr.G[riffiths]: & to be a cheque upon him, for which reason it was necessary to make a confident of the Mercht. When Mr. Hodgson had made known his errand the Gentn. told him the E.[arth] wod. come excessively dear. That abo. seven years ago got a Cask of it for a China maker here."

On 13 June 1767 Wedgwood sent Bently a brief note: "Let me tell you that Mr. [Griffiths] will sail for S C in about a fortnight." This was followed by another letter, on 27 June, in which Wedgwood asked Bentley: "I have not yet thought much about Mr. [Griffiths's] instructions, pray inquire what they have for a passenger from Liverpool to Chas. Town they ask 25 Guineas from London!" Thus, with these last letters, Wedgwood sent Thomas Griffiths off to the land of the Cherokee Clay. Griffiths's journal has been published in several sources and need not be repeated here. However, there are some facts pertinent to this discussion that stress the importance of its contents. Griffiths sailed from London on 16 July and arrived in Charleston on 21 September 1767. On 4 October he left for the Cherokee country. Facing the usual hardships of travel in the Carolina Backcountry, Griffiths reached Western South Carolina's Fort Prince George, or "old Keowee," on 20 October where he stayed ten days and convinced the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation to allow him "Leave to Travill through their Nation, in search of anything that curiosity might Lead me to, and in particular to speculate on their ayoree white Earth." During this discussion, two of the Indians told him that "they had been Trubled with some young Men long before, who made great holes in their Land, took away their fine White Clay, and gave then only Promises for it," telling them that it "would make fine punch Bowls." On 30 October Griffiths left the fort, and on 3 November he reached the "ayoree mountain, where we Remain'd till the twentythird of december; here we Labor'd herd for 3 Days in clearing away the Rubish out of the old pitt, which could not be less than Twelve or fifteen Ton; but on the fourth day when the pitt was well clean'd out, and the Clay appeare'd." At this point in the narrative, Griffiths related how the "Chief men of Ayoree" took him prisoner and made him renegotiate for the clay, claiming that the previous agreement was not valid and that a high value was to be placed on the clay and leather must be traded in return. They finally reached an agreement, and four days later a "Ton of fine clay [was] ready for the pack horses"; however, during the night a heavy rain ruined the ready clay with red dirt in the surrounding area and filled his pit. Not to be discouraged, Griffiths had "dug and dry'd all the clay I intended to take" by 18 December. On 23 December he left "this cold and Mountainous Country and went off with the pack horses for fort prince George." On 27 December he happily arrived at the fort and repacked his precious cargo into "five Waggons with five

Tons of Clay and set off for Chas Town" on 14 January 1768. Arriving in Charleston on 4 February, Griffiths repacked his clay into casks for the voyage to England where he arrived on 16 March and disembarked with his cargo at Graves End and then proceeded to London by land.[24]

That these clay pits had been dug by "young Men long before" could be a reference to Duche in the early 1740s, or Alexander Garden's 1755 ventures, or even Henry Laurens's 1757 exploits. William Bartram revealed in his 1 July 1765 to 10 April 1766 diary that "the Cherokees [are] extremely jealous of white people travelling about in their mountains, especially if they should see them peeping in amoungst the rocks, or digging up their earth."[25] Griffiths was later employed by Wedgwood in England to search for a cheaper source of clay; some was found in Cornwall in 1775.

The use to which Wedgwood put the five tons of Cherokee clay was found in his letters. His patent for encaustic enamels incorporated "A white earth from Ayoree, in North America," gems and cameos, and his jaspers were "made of the Cherokee clay which I sent an agent [for]." Wedgwood's desire for more Cherokee clay had ended by 1777. In a 15 December 1777 letter to Bently, Wedgwood admitted: "when the present parcel [of Cherokee clay] is out we have no hopes of obtaining more, as it was with the utmost difficulty the natives were prevailed upon to part with what we now have." A fine synopsis of the background of the Griffiths venture and the use to which the "six tons" of clay was put is found in a 13 October 1783 letter from Wedgwood to William Constable. Also in the letter was another mention of earlier clay searchers. Wedgwood wrote that the Indians told Griffiths that "a Frenchman had taken some of their clay before."[26] Could they have meant Duche?

To recap, Wedgwood's 22 May 1767 statement, "I am informed they have got the Cherok[ee] [clay] to a Pottwork at Charles Town," seems to be a reference to Bartlam's pottery. What is interesting is that Bartlam's advertisements did not reflect his interest in this particular type of clay. Bartlam may have realized that the production of porcelain was beyond his knowledge and technical capabilities, which appear to have been limited to the production of creamware and perhaps tin-glazed ware. Also, as he did not have much success with his creamware sales, it is possible that he decided that a venture into porcelain production would be even riskier, particularly if he did not have the training necessary to produce it— or the finances to afford Cherokee clay.

Although Wedgwood and others eventually relinquished their interest in the location, importation, and uses of Cherokee clay, it should be noted that Henry Laurens kept his interest in the processing of Cherokee clay and ceramics production well into the 1770s. For example, he was responsible for furnishing £50 of the £200 the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly allotted Bartlam for his new pottery. He was also the "Gentleman in this Town," mentioned in a 9 July 1772 notice about the Bonnin and Morris manufactory published in the *South Carolina Gazette*: "We have the pleasure to acquaint our Readers, that the Proprietors of the China Manufactory in Philadelphia have made Experiments with some Clay presented to them by a Gentleman in this Town, which produces China superior to any brought from the East-Indies, and will stand the Heat beyond any kind of Crucibles ever yet made." On 28 November 1771 Laurens wrote William Williamson of Westminster in London, England:

> It is high time for me to give you some Account of your Cherokee Clay which was put on board my Schooner at Charles Town . . . I put your Keg of Clay with one of my own into the hands of Mr. George Morris, the Manager or one of the principal Managers of the China Manufactory in Philadelphia under these different directions[:] "to make an Essay on each Material, and to inform me of the Quality respectively. My own Clay you are welcome to, tho' you may if you please send me a dozen Cups and Saucers raised from it. But that Keg WW is the Property of my Friend William Williamson, Esquire in Charles Town, So. Carolina, and must remain in the Gross or wrought up subject to his Order." To which Mr. Morris Promised to pay due Attention, and before I came from Philadelphia, he acquainted me of a Trial which he had made of each Clay, by which he had proved that they were both very fine, that of mine somewhat finest . . . Mr. Morris is a genteel Young Man and will give Satisfaction in your Commands."[27]

The discovery that Laurens was instrumental in supplying Bonnin and Morris with kaolin leads to the suggestion that he may also have assisted Bartlam in a similar manner. Perhaps Bartlam showed little interest in the project, prompting Laurens to approach George Morris. So little is known or recorded about Bartlam at that time that it is impossible to do more than speculate on his involvement in the Cherokee clay adventures. It is frustrating that Wedgwood,

who gave Bartlam's name out so freely in his address to his workman, chose not to use any in his reference to the South Carolina pottery that received the Cherokee clay. Bartlam was the only master potter in the Charleston area at that time (he was still at Cain Hoy in 1767), and it seems likely that his pottery was the one mentioned in Wedgwood's letter. However, there is the possibility that one of Bartlam's workers or assistants instigated the Cherokee clay's being delivered there.

Eventually, the furor over the Cherokee clay died down in the colonies as it had in England. The demise of the Bonnin and Morris Manufactory in 1772 closed the Pennsylvania chapter in the clay search history. The involvement of Henry Laurens and other South Carolinians in the politics surrounding the American Revolution drew their minds to other things besides clay. Bartlam moved to Camden after 1771 and apparently only produced creamware and earthenware from that time on. South Carolina's brief shining moment in the English and American Cherokee clay story was effectively dimmed by a lack of interest and the availability of the Cornwall clay after 1775. On 29 July 1795, South Carolina's last burst of interest in porcelain surfaced in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* of Charleston: "REAL CHINA CLAY. ANY person capable of Manufacturing the said clay into porcelain, may hear of very advantageous terms on application to James Nicholson, No. 52, Broad Street, Charleston, or to M. Barrett, at Pickensville, in Washington District. July 22." Nothing else was found regarding this spark of hope. James Nicholson was a Charleston attorney and M. Barrett, Washington District, was, in 1791, divided from Ninety-Six District in the extreme northeastern part of South Carolina. It was at about this time that several objects were donated to the Charleston Library Society by the Charleston Artist Charles Fraser. In the accession record book for 20 March 1799, Fraser was listed as the donor of a "Specimen of very fine Clay, for Potter's Ware." This may have been kaolin. It is not known how the clay came into Fraser's possession; however, it is evident that he thought enough of it and its history to feel that it should be in a collection for safe keeping.[28] It is interesting that, if the clay was indeed kaolin, it had been relegated to the role of a collector's item. South Carolina definitely no longer had an interest in its potential as anything else or something would have been made of it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "Andrew Duche: a Potter 'a Little Too Much Addicted to Politicks,'" *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1 (May 1991): 59-64.
2. Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Journal of Robert Pringle, 1746-1747," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 26 (1925): 102.
3. David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina, from its First Settlement in 1670 to the year 1808.* . . . 2 vols. (Charleston, S. C., 1809), 2: 470.
4. Baker Correspondence VII, 117-118, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, England, courtesy of Miss J. McFarland, Salford, England, 13 Dec. 1984.
5. Rauschenberg, "Duche," 27, n. 61.
6. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1969), 93-4.
7. Philip M. Hamer and George C. Rogers, Jr., eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 2 (Columbia, S. C., 1970), 431.
8. Ibid., 486.
9. Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, 5 Nov. 1764, suppl.
10. Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, information courtesy of Mr. Elias B. Bull, Charleston, 26 Oct. 1974.
11. Hugh Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol, Being a History of the Manufacture of 'The True Porcelain' by Richard Champion* (London, 1873), 8; J. V. G. Mallet, "Cookworthy's First Bristol Factory of 1765," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 9, pt. 2 (1974): 212-20; Walter E. Minchinton, "Richard Champion, Nicholas Pocock, and the Carolina Trade," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 65 (1964): 87-97; Walter E. Minchinton "Richard Champion, Nicholas Pocock, and the Carolina Trade: A Note," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 70 (1969): 97-103.
12. Paul Rado, former Research Manager of The Worcester Royal Porcelain Company Limited, England, to Dr. John Penderill-Church, letter, 19 June 1978.
13. Owen, *Two Centuries*, 10-11.
14. Graham Hood, "The Career of Andrew Duche," *Art Quarterly*, Vol. 31 (1968): 179.
15. Owen, Two Centuries, 12-13.
16. Mint Museum of Art, "Our Story of Cherokee Clay from Wedgwood's Letters to His Partner Thomas Bently" *Program, Wedgwood International Seminar* (Charlotte, N. C., 1976), pages unnumbered.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.

20. The "Steatites" is soapstone or talc which is an important ingredient in the manufacture of softpaste porcelain as it can be used as a substitute for kaolin. The natural formation of kaolin or kaolinite is through the breakdown of feldspar to produce this desired "china clay" kaolin. Mint, "Our Story"; Bernard Watney, *English Blue and White Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1964); Paul Rado, *An Introduction to the Technology of Pottery* (Oxford, England, 1969), 7-8, 15, 33-34; E. Morton Nance "Soaprock Licences," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions*, No. 3 (1935): 73-84. John Mitchell's "A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America" was published in London in 1755 and does indicate the Cherokee town of Ayoree. Wedgwood thought the name was spelled Hyroee as mentioned in the 20 May letter. This town was located in the Cherokee Middle Settlements within "The Valley." For a detail of Mitchell's map of this area and a discussion of this area see Rauschenberg "Duche," 60-64, fig. 21.
21. Finer and Savage, , p. 54.
22. Mint, op. cit.
23. Ann Finer and George Savage, ds., *The Selected Letters of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1965), 55-6.
24. The original of this thirty-six page manuscript journal is located in the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Staffordshire, England; John H. Goff, "Thomas Griffiths' `A Journal of the Voyage to South Carolina, 1767' to Obtain Cherokee Clay for Josiah Wedgwood, With Annotations," *Georgia Mineral Newsletter* 21, No. 3 (Winter 1959): 1-10; Mint, "Our Story"; for a more recent, accurate quote of this journal, from which many of the above quotes were taken, see: William T. Anderson "Cherokee Clay, from Duche to Wedgwood: the Journal of Thomas Griffiths, 1767-1768," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 63, No. 4 (Oct. 1986): 477-510.
25. Rauschenberg, "Andrew Duche," 59-67; Hamer and Rogers, Jr., *Henry Laurens* 2: 431; Mark Van Doren, ed., *Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1955), 270.
26. Mint, "Our Story"; Finer and Savage, *Selected Letters*, 155-6, 271-3; Anderson, "Cherokee Clay," 497.
27. George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chestnutt, eds. *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 8 (Columbia, S. C., 1980), 55.
28. "Accession Records for Books and Museum Donations," Charleston Library Society, Manuscript 29, Charleston, S. C., 20 Mar. 1799.

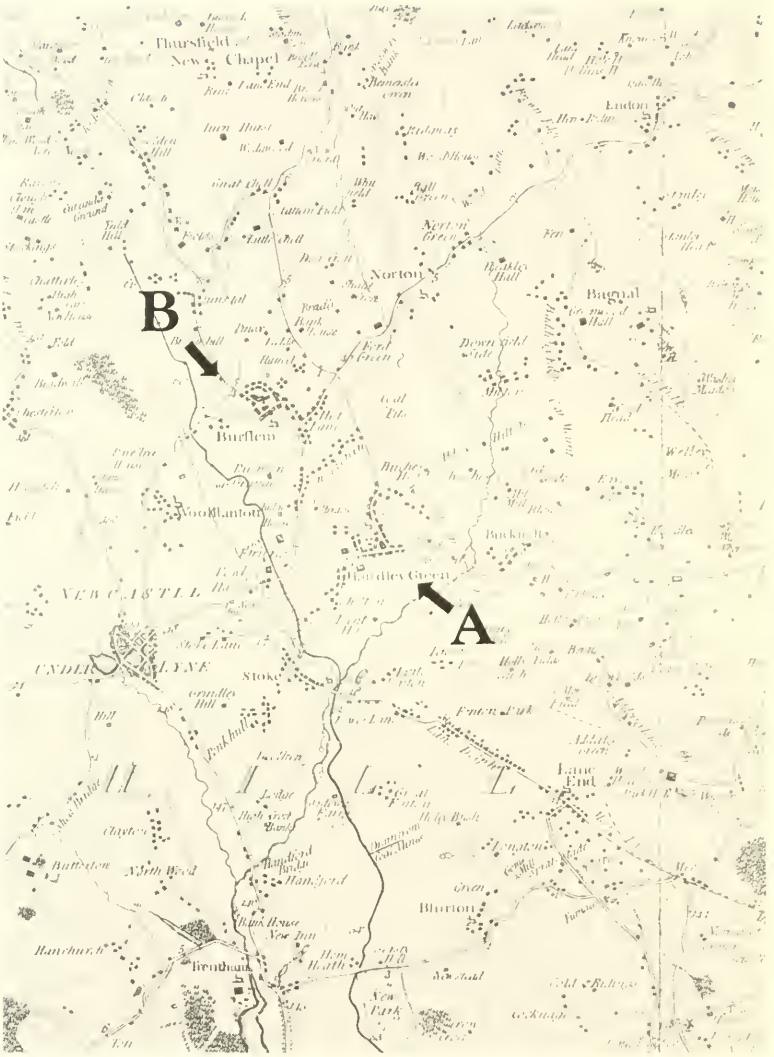


Figure 1. Detail of A Map of the County of Stafford from an Actual Survey Begun in the Year 1769 and Finished in 1775 *by William Yates, engraved by John Chapman, Kent, 1775. The locations of Hanley (A) and Burslem (B) are marked. Courtesy of Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,462.*

Escape from Bartlam: The History of William Ellis of Hanley

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

Recorded among the "Christenings at Hanley in the year 1743" in the Stoke-on-Trent Parish register was: "Mar. 23 Wm. of Wm. & Jerimah Ellis, H." This information is the earliest record of William Ellis of Hanley (fig. 1), a potter that worked for John Bartlam and taught creamware techniques to the Moravians in North Carolina, and it indicates that he was probably born in late 1742 or early 1743. Nothing is known of Ellis's adolescent years; however, since he lived in the potting center of England, his trade probably was predestined. On 1 March 1767 he married Sarah Boulton of Burslem and the same register identified him as an "e. p.," or an earth potter. Sarah was a spinster. Thus, at the age of about twenty-four, Ellis, newly-married and having served his apprenticeship and time as a journeyman, was eager for a challenge as a master potter.[1] Therefore, it is not surprising that a few years later he was bound for South Carolina to assist John Bartlam in his creamware ventures in that colony.

In 1783 Josiah Wedgwood, while chronicling John Bartlam's misadventures in South Carolina, singled out "William Ellis of Hanley" as the sole returnee and survivor of what Wedgwood termed Bartlam's "colony" in South Carolina.[2] Bartlam, having been in Cain Hoy since 1765, returned to England in either late 1769 or early-to mid-1770 and recruited four more men while acquiring necessary materials for his Charleston manufactory. He returned to Charleston and announced on 4 October 1770 its imminent opening under the direction of "Messrs. Bartlam & Company," which probably included Ellis and the three others.[3] A week later, Bartlam's pottery had opened and the venture in downtown Charleston (fig. 2) was underway.[4]

Figure 2. Detail of Ichnography of Charleston, South Carolina. . . . *by Edmund Petrie, London, 1788. The arrow indicates the location of John Bartlam's Meeting Street pottery manufactory, where Ellis was employed. [Dimensions] MRF S-15,448.*

Unfortunately for those involved, the pottery was not successful and by 10 October 1772 Bartlam was in trouble with the law as an insolvent debtor in Camden.[5] Exactly where William Ellis, the other workers, the pottery equipment, and what stock he had were located at this date is not clear; however, Bartlam apparently closed the Charleston pottery and started anew in Camden (fig. 3). The workers and supplies necessary for operating a pottery probably were moved to Camden. Although Ellis was not mentioned in any South Carolina documents, it appears that he decided to leave Bartlam and his ventures in November 1772. The evidence for this decision as well as Ellis's technological abilities can be found in the records of the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Figure 3. Detail of A Map of the Province of South Carolina. . . . *by James Cook, 1773. The arrow indicates the location of Camden in Fredericksburg Township. John Bartlam moved to Camden some time before 1772; he operated a pottery there until 1781. MRF S-15,447.*

In the backcountry of North Carolina, one hundred thousand acres known as Wachovia (fig. 4) had been settled by the "Unity of Brethren," or Moravians. With the congregational town of Salem (fig. 5) as its center, a thriving trade community developed. One of the main businesses for the church was a European-style pottery manufactory. The ceramics produced there were much like Pennsylvania pottery of the period; however, a strong European style of earthenware was made as well, for their master potter,

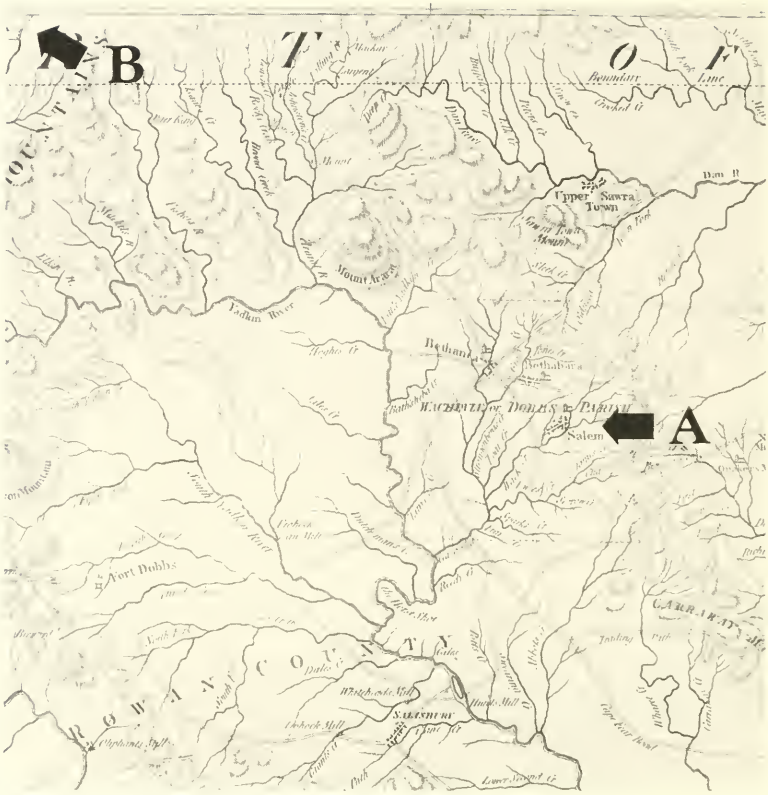


Figure 4. Detail from An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers *by Henry Mouzon, London, 1775. This detail shows the Wachovia settlement and its central town, Salem (A), as well as the New River area (B), which may have been the source of Ellis's white clay. MRF S-15,463.*

Gottfried Aust (1722-88), had been taught under Andreas Dober in Herrnhut, Saxony (now part of Czechoslovakia).[6] Rudolph Christ (1750-1833) was apprenticed to Aust and was a journeyman in the pottery when, on 8 December 1773, the *Aufseher Collegium* (the supervisory board of the Moravian church responsible for the material and financial affairs of the town), recorded in their evening Minutes:

> In the evening we considered what we are to do about a stranger journeyman potter by the name of Ellis. He came here of his own accord with our wagon from Charlestown and arrived today. He formerly was staying in Pinetree and,

Figure 5. A View of Salem in North Carolina, *watercolor on paper, by Ludwig Gottfried von Redeken, Salem, 1788. The Salem pottery is indicated by an arrow. Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany. Dimensions unknown. MRF S-1,186.*

indeed, was on the road from there to Charlestown when he spoke to Br. Bagge about whether he might come here. The latter left the matter to his own decision. He promised him no work, except in the event that [Ellis] and Br. Aust were able to reach some agreement about it. This man knows about glazing and firing Queens Ware. The *Collegium* therefore approves Br. Aust's proposal that under this man's supervision of a kiln [*Brenn Ofen*] suitable for firing such ware be put up in Br. Meinung's yard, which adjoins Br. Aust's. He is to receive a small payment [*Douceur*] in return, along with his food and laundry. Moreover, [we plan to] benefit by learning as much as possible from him about the glaze, about which Br. Aust indeed had formerly something, and also about other matters. The extra expenses are to be charged to the Salem *Diaconat*, rather than to the pottery business. Bros. Utley [Reverend Utley, a representative of the Board], Bagge, and Aust will strike an agreement with this

Ellis. It should be noted that the art of making this pottery ware—or its manufacture—had for the most part been disclosed to Br. Aust about two-and-a-half years ago by just such an itinerant potter-painter, although he had not been invited to do so. And since Ellis likewise comes to us of his own accord now, we certainly have to regard the matter as a direction from the Most High that this art should be established here.[7]

Brother Bagge, a Salem merchant, frequently traveled to Charleston, South Carolina, via Salisbury, North Carolina and Pinetree (Camden), South Carolina, to trade.

Another version of this event was recorded in Frederick William Marshall's report to Wachovia's governing board on 1 January 1774, summarizing the Salem events of November and December 1773:

It seems that the English *Fabrique* [manufacture] of Queensware and Tourtise Shell, that is, a fine pottery ware that most resembles *Porcelain*, will eventually be required of us. (The former is even paler than the color of straw, the latter varigated [*bungfarbig*) like a tortoise]. This affair first came up when an impoverished and [illegible, possibly *kranken*, meaning invalid or sick] Gentleman who had directed such a *Fabrique* traveled through here. He would have been happy to remain here with us. For several days we gave him lodging, along with some clothing and money for food. In return, out of gratitude, he *communicirte* [gave to, communicated?], to Br. Aust the *Principia* [basis] of the matter, along with various *Recepten* [formulas]. A young man from Pinetree and, indeed, the same *Fabrique* has come here, unbidden and *unencouragirt* [unencouraged], with the wagon that recently was returning from Charlestown and asked for work. Since he presented himself well and we could accommodate him properly, we gave him work, but in no way except as a *fremde* [stranger, non-Moravian] day laborer in the town. Thus he can be sent away whenever we choose. An *expressen* [especially designed] oven was built, but only a small one. It remains to be seen what will become of this. In any case, for a couple of years now our pottery has been producing *sauberere* [finer] work than ever, and it is similar to the queensware.[8]

The reason for Ellis's wanting to join with Bagge and travel to Salem remains lost. Perhaps they met at a tavern and Bagge saw the poten-

tial the Englishman held for the Salem pottery. Further, the statement that Ellis had been staying in Pinetree and was on the road from there to Charleston indicates that Ellis had travelled, apparently with Bartlam and possibly other workers, to Camden. Why he was travelling back to Charleston when Bagge convinced him to try Salem is unknown. The reason he left Bartlam is also lost to time; however, it may have been for financial reasons. Bartlam's situation at that time was unstable, and as Wedgwood was pleased to relate, his workers had not received even half of the wages Bartlam had promised them.

The itinerant potter that visited Salem over two years before Ellis traveled there also is not known. Marshall's narrative suggests that he arrived in Salem some time in the summer of 1771. He may have been a manager, supervisor, and director, as well as a china decorator, at Bartlam's manufactory, hence Marshall's statement that he had come from the same pottery. That he was *kranken* justifies Wedgwood's 1783 statement that Bartlam's workers "fell sick as they came." It is most unfortunate that the name of the individual was not recorded in the Moravian records, for it might have identified another of Bartlam's workers. There is also the possibility that the mysterious potter was Bartlam himself, for in the summer of 1771 his Charleston pottery was closed and he did not open his Camden manufactory until 1774. It also would be exciting to discover where the visitor went after he left Salem.

Two months later, the 26 February 1774 *Aufseher Collegium* report recounted more of Salem's venture with Ellis:

> The whole Collegium was together with [Bishop John Graff] and Marshall in order to talk with Br. Aust about the newly built pottery kiln. Br. Aust said that the stranger [Ellis] would like to stay here, and that he thought he would keep him. With him together he wanted to make an experiment of new pottery. For this purpose the old kiln should be broken down and a new one, which would have to be smaller, should be built. All this he would do with his men, and would not need any masons or carpenters. After long consideration this proposal has been approved. We also thought it may be wise to offer the stranger pottery helper for his 12-week service here for £10 [proclamation currency]. All that he has *verzehrt* [eaten, spent, consumed] in Doebern [Dobern] should be put on the pottery account. However, from this time on Br. Aust should fix a weekly

salary with him; he should take him into his house and let him eat and sleep there.[9]

The report intimates that Ellis had been searching for white clay to use for his Salem queensware, perhaps in the New River area of Virginia (fig. 4), a region exploited for mining in the eighteenth century. Dobern was not a settlement in the Wachovia area, and its name has not been found on any map. It is possible that the *Aufseher Collegium* was referring to a settlement called New Dublin in Pulaski County, Virginia, which had been established in 1769 and was quite developed by 1774. It was located near the old Dunkard Bottom community settled by a group from Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in the 1740s.[10]

The April 1774 Salem pottery inventory listed "To Billy Ellis for Work . . . £10"; under "Receipts" it mentioned "2 loads white clay," an item not again found in the pottery inventory until 1784.[11] In the Salem inventory for 30 April 1774, under "Profit and Loss, for Workmanship, Materials & Expenses" was "about a new Kiln. . . . £7.17.3." and "paid Wm. Ellis for his Instructions of making Queensware . . . £10" for a total of "£17.17.3." From this information, we can deduce that Ellis had a new kiln built to teach the manufacture of queensware and used a special white clay that had been obtained from an unknown source, possibly Dobern. Ellis may even have ventured into the area where Cherokee clay was found.

On 5 May 1774 Marshall reported to the Elders Conference that:

> The potter from Pinetree, whose recent revelation [awaking] has taken place, has made a trial of burning Queensware, also another with Stoneware, whereby the processes necessary for it are pretty well made known to us. But since all these wares now have to be made on the pottery molds by hand and are not turned on a potter's wheel with instruments, they obviously do not have the porcelain standard of delicateness, but they do serve as a side-line for our pottery, for recommendation and further development. For the good man himself this was finally too narrow and so for the present he took a friendly departure.[12]

In Salem from only 8 December 1773 until 5 May 1774, William Ellis apparently taught the Moravian potters what they wanted to know about queensware and stoneware production and possibly showed them how to design a new kiln for producing these wares.

Despite the fair amount of documentation of his work in the records, no ceramic evidence has been found that can be attributed to the Englishman. The record of his "friendly departure" is too abrupt to be enlightening. His destination was not noted, nor was much said about his leaving. There also was no explanation of what Marshall meant when he wrote "his recent revelation has taken place." Other southern records are not helpful, either, for the name "William Ellis" is difficult to research because it is so common. We do know that Ellis had returned to England by 1783 for it was then that Wedgwood mentioned him in a footnote to his address. It would also be gratifying to know that Ellis returned to England to find Sarah waiting for him.

Further documentation of the effect Ellis's or the earlier "pottery painter's" visits had on the Moravian potters cannot be separated; however, the fact that the Moravian records were filled with ceramic evidence after Ellis's stay indicates an increase of ceramic knowledge. The Moravians' consciousness of the potential for the production of "fineware," stoneware, and other types of ceramics are revealed in the following selected entries. Aside from these citations, the complete story of the manufacture of English-influenced ceramics in Salem is beyond the scope of this article.

Figure 6. Sprig mould, fine red paste and high-fired, 1770-80, initialed by Rudolph Christ, excavated in Salem, North Carolina, at the site of the First House, by the author in 1967. In 1779, the Moravians referred to this type of mould as "forms which are used for the flowers for the fine pottery." WOA 1 3/8", DOA 9/16", LOA 15/16". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-2059.

Bartlam's manufactory undoubtedly used applied "flowers" in its production of creamware "Queens Ware," and Ellis appears to have taught the Salem potters the technology. On 27 January 1779 the *Aufseher Collegium* recorded information that substantiates this supposition: "We talked to Brother Aust about the character of Rudolph Christ his journeyman. . . . Brother Aust testified that Christ has behaved honestly, however, that he has carried away last week out of the pottery several forms which are used for flowers for the fine pottery.[13] The "several forms" were sprig moulds used for the application of terminals. One of these "forms" (fig. 6) used to make "flowers for the fine pottery" was excavated in Salem in 1967, and it bears Rudolph Christ's initials (fig. 6a) on its back. Examples of these flowers (figs. 7, 8, and 9) have turned up during archaeological investigations. The initials on the mould illustrated and the information that Christ took the "forms" imply that they were his.[14]

Figure 6a. Rudolph Christ's initials can be seen on the reverse of the mould illustrated in fig. 6.

Figure 7. Bisque and lead-glazed creamware hollow ware sherds excavated in Salem, 1770-85. These sherds were overfired. Their terminals, which were made in moulds like that in fig. 6, vary. Ellis taught the Moravians this method of ceramic production. Top right example: HOA 3". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,456.

The Moravian records indicate that Aust and Christ were not able to work together, probably because Aust maintained the role of master and Christ remained a journeyman, for there was no room in Salem for more than one master potter. Also, Aust was trained in the European tradition and preferred older techniques whereas Christ was apprenticed in America and wanted to use his newly-learned methods. A number of entries revealed their antagonism, as well as how the problem was partially solved. Most importantly, however, these records detailed, secondhand, much of what Ellis had taught the potters.

On 12 September 1780, the reports recorded the following events:

> Brother [Bishop] Reichel mentioned that Brother Christ has told him that he would like to start the fine pottery here in the community. The fine pottery cannot be manufactured together with the rough pottery, because the finest grain of sand that comes into the white clay, will do a great damage,

Figure 8. Bisque creamware mug with double entwined handles and sprig terminals similar to those in fig. 7., Salem, North Carolina, 1770-85. This mug is probably similar to some that Bartlam produced at his potteries. HOA 5 7/8", WOA (through handle) 5 5/8", WOA (body only) 4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-1939.

> and as concerns the drying, just the opposite has to be done with the one than with the other. Thus he would need an own [separate] pottery and new tools. Though in these things like that cannot be executed, Brother Reichel reminded the Collegium not to forget about it and when time comes it can be again taken into consideration. If it would not cost too much money we could then maybe follow the trade better than it has been done up to now, he could then take up the manufacture of white, black, and salt pottery. It would be also good to get away from Brother Aust because the two temperaments are too different to get along with other.

Figure 9. Over-fired lead-glazed creamware mug with terminals, Salem, 1770-85. HOA 4"; WOA (body, estimated) 3"; WOA (base) 2 2/12". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc., MRF S-1933.

The white pottery mentioned in this account refers to creamware. Bisque and lead-glazed plate rim sherds of various press-moulded patterns excavated in Salem and illustrated in fig. 10 indicate that the Moravians used a number of moulds to make their creamware plates. The bisque sherd in the top left of the illustration is an example of the "bead and reel" pattern with an inner marley beading. This pattern usually is found on salt-glazed stoneware. The other three sherds on the top row are variations of the "Queen's shape" pattern; the last has inner marley beading and it is lead-glazed over a yellow slip with copper and manganese sponging on both sides. The first two sherds on the bottom row are two bisque examples of the "featheredge" pattern, which is well-pronounced on both. The third sherd also is an example of the featheredge, but with a lower profile, and it is lead-glazed over yellow slip with manganese and copper sponging. The fourth sherd is bisque with a

Figure 10. Bisque and lead-glazed creamware plate rim sherds with varying press-moulded patterns, Salem, 1770-85. These are examples of the "white" pottery mentioned in the Moravian records. Top left sherd: HOA 2". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,464.

raised rim and a swagged pattern. These are all English patterns.[15] Two other plate sherds (fig. 11) excavated in Salem are very thin and made of a fine white paste and are more examples of the Moravians' "white" ware.

The black pottery mentioned above probably was "Jackfield ware." Several sherds (fig. 12) of this type of pottery were excavated in Salem. The "salt pottery" was a reference to salt-glazed stoneware. Several sagger wasters (fig. 13) excavated in Salem demonstrate the Moravian version of stoneware, for they were exposed in a salt-glaze kiln. The top left and bottom left sherds in fig. 13 are fragments of a sagger wall; the top is a rim and the bottom is from a lower wall—its break is the missing base. The crescent cut at its top is what remains of a vertical oval opening, probably one of three or four cut into the sagger while it was being made. These openings allowed the pottery inside the sagger to be completely salt-glazed. The fragment at the top of fig. 13 is the result of two sagger walls adhered to each other, and the bottom center sherd represents an unidentified hollow ware form. All the sherds in figs. 10-13 represent the wide range of Ellis's abilities, as well as the well-rounded education in the manufacture of English-style pottery he gave the Moravian potters.

Figure 11. Reverse view of two bisque creamware press-moulded plate sherds showing their footrings, Salem, 1770-85. Footring diameter (est.) 5 3/4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,465.

Figure 12. "Jackfield ware" sherds from an unidentified hollow ware vessel, Salem, 1770-85. These represent Salem's "black" ware. The handle sherd may have been from a teapot and is in the "crabstock" pattern. It is bisque, as are the three adjacent to it. The sherd to the extreme right is lead-glazed. Handle: LOA 1 1/4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,466.

Figure 13. Salt-glazed stoneware sagger waster sherds, Salem, North Carolina, 1770-85. These are examples of the salt-glazed stoneware produced in Salem and referred to as "salt" pottery in the Moravian records. Top left sherd: WOA 2 1/4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-15,467.

Three months later, on 6 December 1781, the *Aufseher Collegium* discussed Aust's and Christ's problems: "Since Br. Aust is not satisfied with the way of life and the work of Br. Christ he is suggesting that Br. Christ be paid by the hour from now on. However, this does not seem very practical to us and therefore we think that it will be best to have him do piece work. The prices for piece work have not been determined up to now."

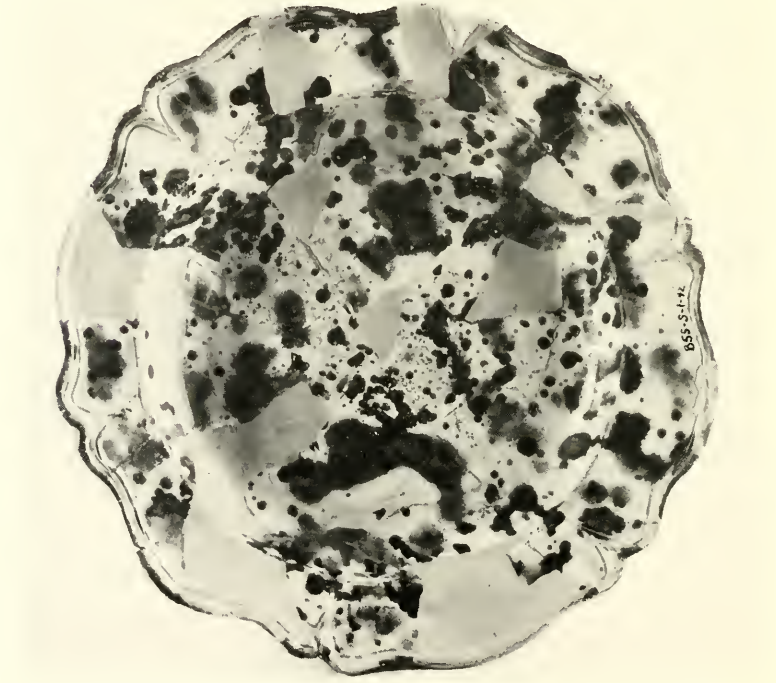
On 11 December 1781 the *Aufseher Collegium* revealed the next logical step for the potters:

> Br. Aust as well as Br. Christ have turned in a list of the piece work, which are almost alike. Both consist in the fact that the journeyman shall get, if he is preparing the clay by himself, for each piece that is sold for 1p, half a penny, and for each piece that is sold for a higher price he shall get 10sh per hundred. For certain pieces which have to be handled more carefully, such as tea pots, bowls, etc. he shall get twice as much and for burning and putting in as well as other work at the kiln he shall be paid according to the day. For his daily wages Br. Christ is mentioning 3:4sh and Br. Aust 4sh. After we have talked to both in the Collegium we brought them both together and the following was determined upon: For the wares that are sold at a price over 1

penny he shall get 10sh per hundred, in which are included bowls, half pints, quarts, tea cups (from the latter six saucers and six cups charged by the dozen) of queens ware. For the ware that has to be made up with a special care he shall get 20sh per hundred pieces; in these are included sugar cans, tea pots [figs. 14 and 14a], quart and pint [mugs?] with double handle [see figs. 8 and 9], formed plates and dishes [fig. 15]. For each hundred he has four which may be broken. He is going to prepare the clay by himself. His daily wages are going to be 4sh. From now on the contract that was made between Br. Aust and Br. Christ concerning the annual income of the latter is expired completely and the new contract is going to start working as soon as the clay that has been prepared by Christ and Moeller will be used. Christ is going to pay for the time during his house rent and his wood himself, both to Br. Aust, who is going to subtract it simply from his income. On the other hand, Br. Christ has the whole house from top to bottom for his own use, except if he makes some kind of agreement with Br. Aust concerning the little room upstairs. The yards [fig. 16] of the pottery and that of Br. Christ shall be separated with a fence and Br. Aust is going to pay him something for the little stove [small kiln?] and for the shed of the pottery.

Figure 14. Creamware teapot with manganese mottling, Salem, North Carolina, 1770-85. This teapot was involved in a kiln accident, for spalling of the body underneath the rim is evident. Its mottled glaze is dark due to overfiring. HOA (through spout) 3 5/8"; WOA (body) 4 1/4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-1929.

Figure 14a. Detail of fig. 14., showing double entwined and reeded handles and their terminals, as well as the spalling, and top and body beading. These terminals are similar to those of the fragment on the extreme left of fig. 7.



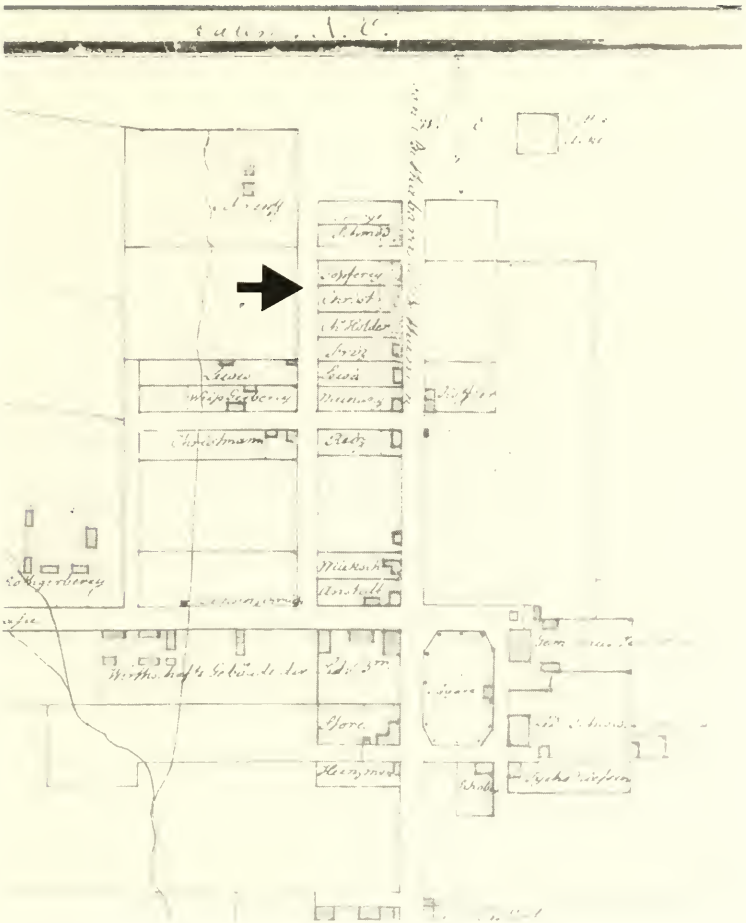


Figure 16. Detail of a 1785 map of "Salem, N. C." The arrow indicates the Topferey (Topferei, *or where pottery was being made) on lot 48, as well as Christ's house on lot 49, facing the road to Bethabara and Bethania, which is now Main Street. MRF S-2095.*

Figure 15 (left). Press-moulded, mottled-glazed creamware plate of the "Queen's shape," Bethabara, North Carolina, 1786-89. This plate was excavated at Bethabara, where Rudolph Christ worked from 1786-89, after being taught by William Ellis. It represents the type of plate described as "formed plate and dish" in the Aufseher Collegium of 11 December 1781. WOA 9 5/8". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-2103.

The Elders Conference in Salem reported on 21 March 1782 that "Br. Christ has accepted the proposal that he establish a pottery in Salem for fine dishes [*feines Geschirr*]." Later that year, the *Aufseher Collegium* noted on 1 August that Christ:

> asked again urgently that he would like to start working on the Queens and Salt-pottery . . . [and that he wants a contract] between him and Br. Aust that specifies what each of them has to manufacture, so that neither of them makes the wares of the other . . . [Aust's] idea was that . . . [he] could make his pottery . . . excluding the pipeheads . . . only from non-washed clay, and that Br, Christ should make no other kind of pottery than that from washed clay, which may be glazed with all sorts of colors . . . Christ must not manufacture anything from the unwashed clay, except the cases or the round pots [saggers] in which he keeps his pottery when he burns it. Br. Aust reminded also that several of the plate and dish forms [figs. 17 and 18], which are necessary for the fine pottery, are still in his shop, with which Christ has worked in the payment of the pottery.[16]

Figure 17. Plaster mould for a "Queen's shape" plate, Salem, North Carolina, 1770-85. The plaster of this mould is very fine. It was one of the "forms" used to mould plates, and may have been used to make the plates represented by the two sherds in the top center of fig. 10. WOA 10". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-2054.

Figure 18. Plaster dish mould, Salem, North Carolina, 1770-85. The plaster for this mould is coarser than that of the mould in fig. 17. The type of dish it made was referred to as "Pickle leaves" in the 1807 Salem pottery inventory. WOA 9 9/8"; LOA 8 1/4". Courtesy of Old Salem, Inc. MRF S-2039.

Archaeological evidence supporting the records quoted above was found in a pit on the northern line of lot 49 (Christ's house) and adjacent areas. The pottery (lot 48), which is located just north of lot 49, has yet to be excavated. Although a main kiln waster dump has not been discovered, the pit did contain waste material such as saggers and over-fired ceramics that indicated experimental firings.[17]

Although the latter portion of this study has been concerned with the ceramic developments in Salem after William Ellis left, it was necessary to detail these events. Not only can the impact of Ellis's presence in Salem be revealed by documentation, but also with archaeology. More on the specifics of this story, as well as more illustrations, can be found in the references used to compile this article.

FOOTNOTES

1. Arnold R. Mountford, former Director, City Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, England, letter to author, 24 Nov. 1971.
2. Josiah Wedgwood, *An Address to the Workmen in the Pottery on the Subject of Entering into the Service of Foreign Manufacturers* (Newcastle, Staffordshire, 1783), 7.
3. *South Carolina Gazette*, 4 Oct. 1770. Ellis's wife, Sarah, was not mentioned again after their marriage, and it cannot be ascertained whether she went to the New World or not.
4. *South Carolina Gazette*, 11 Oct. 1770.
5. *American General Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1772.
6. John Bivins, Jr., *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1972), 16-17.
7. Bivins, *Moravian Potters*, 30-32. The *Aufseher Collegium* minutes were translated from the German manuscript in the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N. C., by Frances Cumnock, October 1991.
8. The Wachovia governing board was known as the *Aeltesten Conferenz* (*U. A. C.*), or the Board of Elders. Marshall was the *Oeconomus*, or administrator of Wachovia. Marshall's report was translated from a German manuscript in the Moravian Archives by Frances Cumnock, October 1991.
9. *Aufseher Collegium*, 26 Feb. 1774, Moravian Archives.
10. Information courtesy of Mary B. Kegley, Dublin, Va., 10 June 1974.
11. Salem Pottery Inventories, Moravian Archives.
12. Elders Conference, 5 May 1774, Moravian Archives.
13. *Aufseher Collegium*, 279.
14. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "A Sprigg Mould for 'Flowers for the Fine Pottery,'" *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, 1967, Vol. 2, Pt. 1 (1968), 115, figs. A and B.
15. Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1970), 116.
16. Rauschenberg, "A Sprigg Mould," 107-22.
17. Stanley South, "The Ceramic Ware of the Potter Rudolph Christ at Bethabara and Salem, North Carolina, 1786-1821," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, 1968 3, pt. 2 (August 1970): 70-72; Garry Stone, "Fifth House Archaeological Report (FY2-S49)," unpublished ms., 1973, in author's files.

Brick and Tile Manufacturing in the South Carolina Low Country, 1750-1800

Bradford L. Rauschenberg

Earthenware tile and brick manufacture is a side of earthenware production not often studied beyond its roots in Europe. In the southern Backcountry, particularly the Shenandoah Valley, the manufacture of tile often supplemented the incomes of potters during lean periods. In the Low Country, documents indicate that, although bricks and tiles were imported from Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were several attempts after the American Revolution to produce domestic tile and brick. Sometimes these efforts were in conjunction with other earthenware manufacture, but a brave soul or two tried his hand at tile manufacture alone. These projects are important, for the documents that record them indicate that enough tiles were produced in the Low Country to warrant the search for specific examples. There are only a few such records, but it is hoped that more research will make this short study, published as a companion to the other clay-related matter contained herein, more complete. It is possible that a type will emerge that can be identified as a product of one of the South Carolina manufactories.

Records indicate that bricks and tiles were exported to South Carolina beginning early in the eighteenth century and continuing into the first decades of the nineteenth. An absence of seventeenth-century shipping records precluded the study of earlier exports and imports, although it is likely that bricks, at least, were exported to South Carolina during the last decade of that century. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they came from a number of places, both foreign and American. On 5 June 1736 Robert Pringle offered goods from the "*Dragon*, from Boston," which included "bricks & hay."[1] Chimney tiles were being imported into

Charleston by merchants such as Binford and Osmond, who on 13 December 1742, advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* their offering of "*Dutch* Chimney Tiles." Also, on 2 February 1765, John Edwards and Company advertised in the same newspaper "Just imported, in the FAIR AMERICAN . . . from Liverpool . . . A quantity of neat copper-plate chimney tiles, both black and red." Later, on 7 November 1768 the ship "*Brice*, John Muir, Master, [had for sale at] Capt. Roper's Wharf . . . ENGLISH BRICKS."[2] Boston continued to export bricks after the Revolution; on 24 December 1785, merchants Smith, DeSaussure, and Darrel advertised "20,000 Boston Bricks" arriving in the brig *Phoenix*.[3] The following month Thomas Eveleigh and Company announced their sale of "a few thousand large English Bricks and Pantiles."[4] In August 1786 Charleston's "Ship News" included the entry of the "Schooner Betsy" from New York with "2500 bricks" on board.[5] In a 30 March 1790 notice, Charleston merchants Schmidt and Molich offered "Twelve hundred best red glazed pantiles, twelve hundred blue and red hearth and flooring Tiles" for sale; unfortunately, they did not name the source of the tiles.[6] On 29 December 1796 the "Brig *Benjamin Franklin*, at Nicholl's Wharf" had "TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND *Hard-burnt Philadelphia Bricks*" for sale.[7]

Early in the nineteenth century, on 21 October 1801, Muir and Boyd announced the sale of "150,000 HAMBURG BRICKS."[8] In the spring of 1804, "a quantity of LIVERPOOL CISTERN BRICKS" arrived in Charleston and were described as available with "a quantity of CEMENT, of a superior quality" by William Brand, a Charleston bricklayer.[9] Another European cargo included "50,000 Dutch Bricks," which arrived on the ship *Olive Branch* and were offered for sale at Vanderhorst's Wharf by Robert Hazelhurst and Company on 9 October 1804.[10] On 8 July 1811 "20,000 Boston made faced BRICKS" could be found at Griffiths Wharf, an indication that Boston was still an important exporter in the nineteenth century.[11]

Evidently South Carolinians were purchasing these imports. Several estate inventories document tiles on the properties of planters. For example, the 24 January 1772 appraisal of Reverend John Thomas's James Island plantation listed "200 red paving and 142 chimney Tile & 2 bird Cages" valued at £20 pounds.[12] The chimney tiles mentioned probably were imported decorated tiles for the fireplace.[13] Apparently the red tiles were either the remains of a

job or tiles received for a project not yet completed. A 26 November 1787 auction announcement gives an indication of the sizes of paving tiles; on that date David Denoon advertised "Ten Thousand Red PAN TILES, 17 inches long, & 10 1/2 inches wide."[14] If these bricks and tiles were like most imported commodities, they probably were expensive. At the same time that they were arriving in South Carolina, there was an interest there to produce them locally. These attempts were recorded in a number of sources.

In the mid-eighteenth century, property owners in the Low Country occasionally tried to seduce prospective buyers by mentioning in advertisements that there was potential for the production of bricks and tiles on their property. These notices have become valuable tools for researchers today, for they indicate the types of clay available in the Low Country. They also provide a background for the attempts at tile production in the Low Country. In a *South Carolina Gazette* notice of 21 November 1748, Deborah Fisher offered "A Plantation on *Wando-River* near Cain Hoy, containing 500 acres of land . . . a Dwelling House, Barn, and Out-Houses, and at the Landing a good Brick-Yard (with two large Houses, near 100 feet in length, and about 30 in Breath) and a good brick Case for burning them, about 45 feet in Length, near 20 in Breadth, and 9 in height, with 12 Arches, and a Division in the Middle, a large quantity of Wood, near at Hand, with other Conveniences, Likewise a Number of Slaves, among them a good Cooper, Sawyers, and Brick Moulders." A few years later the estate of Hugh Cartwright was for sale, and a 20 November 1753 advertisement stated that the property included "a kiln of brick at *Cainhoy* ready for burning."[15] The following year John Moore announced that he had "a large quantity of good bricks to dispose of and deliver at his landing 8 miles distant from Charles Town, at 5 £ per 1000; also very good paving [tiles?] at 4 £ per 1000."[16] On 2 October 1766 an 837-acre plantation, "formerly owned by John Daniel," in Christ Church Parish was available: "There is very good clay for brick-making on it, and a brick-yard already settled, with a reservoir of water for swimming the cattle that tread the clay."[17] When Henry Gray's 400-acre plantation in Goose Creek, twelve miles from Charleston, was offered for sale on 19 April 1773, the announcement described it as located on a "bold Deep Creek, called *Foster's*," adding that "a very advantageous BRICK-YARD may be established on it, the land being entirely a Foot beneath the Surface."[18] Foster's Creek (fig. 1) begins just east of St. James

Figure 1. Detail of Charleston District *from* Atlas of the State of South Carolina *by Robert Mills, 1825, facsimile edition by Lucy Hampton and Fant H. Thornley, Columbia, South Carolina, 1938. The arrows indicate the locations of Foster Creek and the Wando River. Charleston can be seen in the lower right corner. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,468.*

Church in Goose Creek and flows into Back Creek which meets the Cooper River above the junction of Goose Creek and the Cooper River. In September and October 1798, Francis Robertson, vendue master and real estate factor, advertised a 564-acre plantation on Wando River (fig. 1) "only sixteen miles from this city," which had a house of "four rooms." The land, he said, could work "30 to 40 hands," for there were "several landings, abounding with clay of the first quality, and an immense quantity of wood. Bricks, tiles, or porcelain, may be made much to the interest of the purchaser." The owner was not identified.[19] It is clear that the concept of porcelain manufacture was still alive, in the mind of at least one South Carolinian, at that late date.

It is unlikely that this plethora of advertisements touting land suitable for brick and tile production would have been ignored by those who wished to profit from their manufacture. Apparently, Arnoldus Vanderhorst, a merchant and planter, was producing brick in the 1770s, for in March 1775, Charleston cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe sold him "6 Mahog. brick moulds" for 13 shillings and five pence; in May he charged Vanderhorst 7 shillings and sixpence for "altering 6 brick molds."[20] This is only one of two known records (the second was dated 1800 and will be discussed later) that mention brick moulds, and both specify that the moulds were mahogany, perhaps for durability. Vanderhorst was a considerable landowner, and his holdings included property on the Wando River, where, according to the above advertisements, there was an abundance of clay for brick and earthenware production.[21] Vanderhorst also owned dwellings, tenements, and wharves on East Bay in Charleston, which Jenkin Jones, an agent with the Phoenix Assurance Company of London, described in 1809: "East Bay, for instance and all the wharves in front of it, are built of Brick and have Tiled Roofs without anything that merits the name of an intermixture of Timber."[22] Perhaps some of these bricks and tiles had been made from clay on Vanderhorst's Wando River plantation.

Thirteen years after Gray's property on Foster's Creek was advertised, the following notice, dated 11 February 1786, appeared in a Charleston newspaper: "It is with pleasure we inform the public, that the *Tile* manufactory established at Goose Creek, about sixteen miles from this city, is brought to great perfection. A Correspondent hopes the citizens will encourage so good an undertaking, to prevent the dreadful calamity of fire, as they can be sold at a very cheap rate; a cargo of them has already been brought to market, and

esteemed by judges to be no way inferior to those from Europe. *Carolinians encourage your own manufactures.*"[23] Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this tile manufactory.

During the 1790s through 1800, at least three tile manufacturers and one brickmaking machine were mentioned in newspaper advertisements and editorials. On 20 August 1793 the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* carried an item regarding the plight of "Two French Coopers, obliged to take refuge in this City, after having experienced all the horrors of the conflagration of Cape Francois," who were looking for employment. The editorial added: "Another young French man, likewise escaped from the flames of that unfortunate city, wishes to find any person who would establish a manufacture of every kind of earthenware, varnished or unvarnished, for the use of kitchens; also stoves, flat tiles and other utensils in that line, too long to be enumerated." If the Goose Creek tile manufactory was operating, it is possible that the Frenchman might have found employment there. His description indicates that he was a standard potter, able to produce what he termed "varnished or unvarnished" wares—probably glazed or unglazed utilitarian earthenware, sometimes called "redware." It is interesting that he specified that his products were for the kitchen. It is difficult to discern the meaning of "also stoves, flat tiles, and other utensils in that line." It is most likely that he was referring to tiles for the floors of stoves; however, it is possible that he made tile stoves in the European tradition. If this Frenchman did find employment in the Charleston area, it was not for long. By 25 April 1797, less than four years after he had arrived as a refugee, he was advertising his "Brick and Tile Manufactory," in Savannah, Georgia. Although his name was not given in the Charleston newspaper, his Savannah advertisement identified him as Charles Radiguey.[24]

In 1797 both the brickmaking machine and the second tile manufactory mentioned above were recorded in Charleston newspapers. On 11 March 1797 this advertisement appeared in the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*:

> BRICK MACHINES. Any Person who can immediately advance 4000 Dollars in Cash, or in a Bill on New York or Connecticut, will be admitted into an equal Participation of the exclusive Use of Dr. KINSLEY'S celebrated PATENT MACHINES, on Savannah River, for 13 years. This valuable invention is established in all the Capitals of the Northward States, and with the labor of four men, five boys,

and one horse, turns out 10,000 Bricks per day, of an infinately superior beauty and goodness to any made by hand. It also makes excellant Tiles, Ornamental Work, &c. Particulars respecting it may be known by applying to the Printers. A Lot, on which is a SMALLHOUSE, with Four Rooms, in King-street, FOR SALE.

The name of the person attempting to find a financer or purchaser for the machine was not given. "On Savannah River" was a vague description of where the machine had been used and suggests that the person placing the offer did not want the exact location of the machine known, if he already had it. It is also not clear whether he lived at this site, nor did he give any idea if he was on the South Carolina or the Georgia side of the Savannah River. The machine apparently was not advertised again.

The second tile manufactory was recorded by "A Subscriber" in the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* of 4 October 1797:

> As I think all works tending to the public benefit should be encouraged, I take the liberty of noticing the following: On my way from Santee, the other day, I called in at the plantation of William Marshall, esq. to see his Tile Works, of which I had heard. I was conducted to the works near the landing, and found them in compleat operation. They appear to be conducted with great order and activity, and the people employed in it appear to be masters of their business. The clay is of a superior quality, and the tiles are very fine, and of a large size. Some excellent pottery has been made here, and they are preparing to go extensively into this branch. There are a great number made, and the four moulders turn out of hand a great many in the course of the day. It is certainly a manufactory that will not only be very profitable to the proprietor, but beneficial to this country. I am told, from a specimen in town, they are equal to European tiles, and why import these things, when we can have them of our own?

Marshall's tile manufactory had been operating at least since July 1797, for Marshall was using tile and brick moulds made by a Charleston cabinetmaker at that time. On 28 December 1797, John Marshall, "cabinetmaker of Charleston," filed a suit against William Marshall for a debt of £80.10 sterling and furnished accounts of work he had done for Marshall that dated back to 1791. Included

in the accounts for 1797 was the following: "July 23d. To Making three Mahogany tile moulds . . . [£] 0.18.0. To one square tile mould . . . 0.4.8."[25] Apparently, Marshall's tile manufacturing venture was successful for at least a few years. Marshall was a judge of the South Carolina court of equity and a considerable land owner. On 27 June 1799 he deeded a plantation in Florida and a South Carolina plantation of 600 acres located on the South branch of Fairchild's Creek to William McCaleb.[26] He died on 21 September 1805, and his death notice appeared in the 24 September 1805 Charleston *City Gazette* and stated that he was thirty-five. Just why Marshall decided to cease the manufactory is unknown; however, the plantation was offered for sale two years later on 6 March 1807:

> A valuable plantation, in Christ Church parish, containing six hundred and fifty acres . . . About one hundred acres of this tract have been cleared, and the remainder is well wooded and convenient to a good anding on a bold creek. On the premises are a dwelling house and some out buildings, a little out of repair. This place would answer well for a Brick or Tile Yard, as the experiment was tried some years ago by an experienced judge, and the clay found to be equal to any in the state."[27]

The outcome of the sale has not been located nor is there any further information on the tile manufactory and whether it was rekindled after 1807.

The third tile manufactory was advertised in the fall of 1800 in two Charleston newspapers by John Christian Smith, a planter. The advertisement was quite long, but as it was also very descriptive and specific, it is reproduced here in its entirety:

> NEW TILE MANUFACTORY. The Subscriber has on hand, for sale, from 30 to 40,000 GLAZED and RED PAN TILES, warranted as good as those imported from any part of EUROPE, which, for the convenience of purchasers, will be delivered at any wharf in the city, at any particular time that may be directed. The success attending the subscriber's first enterprize in the Tile Manufactory, encouraged him to attend more closely to it, and to extend his plan considerably beyond what he at first contemplated; he will be able to supply this state, and the neighbouring states of North Carolina and Georgia, on terms as advantageous to them, as they can be supplied from any foreign place. Master masons in this city, who have inspected and made use of the sub-

scriber's Tiles, all agree in testifying their approbation of them. They are of opinion, that they are preferable to those imported, inasmuch as the clay of which they are composed is of a better texture, more close, and consequently more suitable to this climate. These tiles are manufactured with the greatest care. They are all of a *true line*, calculated to *lie close into each other*, and they do not require to be *pointed* on their outside, which is a considerable saving of labour and expense, and adds much to the clean and handsome appearance of a roof. Another advantage they possess is, that from their lightness, they are peculiarly well adapted to the covering of *wooden* buildings, and have been employed for that purpose with great satisfaction. In consequence of an opinion entertained by some, that *no Tiles could be made in South-Carolina, nor in America, equal to those imported from Holland or England*, the subscriber had some from his manufactory compared with some of the lately imported Dutch Glazed Tiles, at the house of an impartial gentleman; when, from the heaviness and coarseness of the latter, they were supposed by those who examined them, to be manufactured in America, and the subscribers Tiles to be the imported ones; and some persons, who considered themselves tolerably-acquainted with the Dutch manufactory hesitated much to believe to the contrary. The subscriber respectfully hopes, he will experience the support of his fellow citizens in this undertaking; he believes he will, when he reflects that it is known to every one how politic it is to encourage home manufactories, that the money of the country may not be sent out of it unnecessarily; and that industry is promoted, and the mechanic arts flourish, only in proportion to the patronage afforded them. John Christian Smith, *No. 52 King-Street, Charleston.*[28]

Little is known of Smith, for his name made researching him difficult. His 1800 tile manufacturing advertisement appears to have been his only one. On 22 June 1801 he mortgaged several slaves to Henry Bonneau for $4,000.[29] He died some time later that year, and an inventory of his estate was taken on 27 February 1802. The appraisal listed his property, a store in Charleston, a plantation in St. Thomas Parish and one on the Wateree River. His Charleston inventory included "& Casks red Lead @56/— £19.12.0" and "1 Cask Magnees 46/8," which most likely was manganese. On the

"plantation in St. Thomas Parish containing 799 acres" among household goods, slaves, and livestock, there were "about 20 M unburnt tiles @20/— £20, a potters mill £8. . . . Tile Moulds 20/."[30] Therefore, his tile manufactory was located on his St. Thomas Parish plantation. It is possible that, like other kilns and manufactories before it, it may also have been on the Wando River. Smith's mortgage of slaves to Henry Bonneau for £4000 suggests a land purchase, and according to a deed and release from Arnoldus Vanderhorst, Henry Bonneau owned property on the Wando River.[31]

There are no other known or documented efforts to produce tile in the Low Country before 1801. The information that has been found and discussed here suggests that there was a small tile making industry in the Low Country that cannot be ignored. It is possible that some of the roofing and paving tiles that have been found by present-day archaeologists and architectural historians may have been actual Low Country products that can be separated from those we know were imported. It is possible that an analysis of the physical evidence available combined with this study of documents may uncover a chronology of tile types, as well as the sites of the Goose Creek and Marshall tile manufactories, and even Radiguey's stove tiles.

FOOTNOTES

1. Charleston *South Carolina Gazette*, 5 June 1736.
2. Ibid., 7 Nov. 1768.
3. *South Carolina Gazette, and Public Advertiser*, Charleston, 2 December 1785.
4. Charleston *South Carolina Gazette, and Public Advertiser*, 14 Jan. 1786.
5. *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 4 Aug. 1786.
6. Charleston *City Gazette or the Daily Advertiser*, 30 Mar. 1790.
7. Ibid., 29 Dec. 1796.
8. Charleston *Times*, 21 Oct. 1801.
9. Ibid., 4 Apr. 1804.
10. *Charleston Courier*, 9 Oct. 1804.
11. Ibid., 8 July 1811.
12. Charleston County Inventories, Vol. 94A-94B, 1771-4, 269-272.
13. See Daisy Wade Bridges, "Sadler Tiles in Colonial America" *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* 10, pt. 3 (1978): 174-83.
14. *City Gazette*, 26 Nov. 1787.
15. *South Carolina Gazette*, 20 Nov. 1753.

16. Ibid., 12 Dec. 1754.
17. Ibid., 20 Oct. 1766.
18. *South Carolina Gazette*, 19 Apr. 1773.
19. Charleston *Evening Courier*, 14 Sept. 1798; Charleston *Carolina Gazette*, 4 Oct. 1798.
20. Thomas Elfe Account Book, accts. 72 and 183, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.
21. Charleston County Land Records, Miscellaneous, Pt. 92, Bks. E7-H7, 1801-1803, Bk. E7, 90.
22. William Hayward, Phoenix Assurance Company, letter to author, 1979; Charleston County Wills, Vol. 32, 924.
23. *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 11 Feb. 1786.
24. See Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "Other Savannah River Potters," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1 (May 1991), 105-107. The "conflagration of Cape Francois" had been the sacking, two months earlier, of the town of Cape Francois, which is on the north east side of the island of Saint-Domingue, West Indies, by slaves in revolt. Charleston was not the only American port of entry for the exodus from this problem. Other August newspapers noted arrivals in Washington, N. C., Baltimore, and Norfolk. J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies* (London, 1971), 164-5; *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 1, 18, 25 July, 1, 8, 22 Aug. 1793.
25. South Carolina Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, 1798, 657a, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
26. Charleston Co. Land Records, Misc., Pt. 89, Bks. W6-Z6, 1798-1800 [Z6], 57-8.
27. *City Gazette*, 6 Mar. 1807.
28. Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 5 Sept. 1800; Charleston Times, 7 Oct. 1800.
29. South Carolina Mortgages, Charleston County, No. K. K. K., 1799-1804, 148.
30. Charleston Co. Inventories, Vol. D, 1800-1810, 83.
31. Charleston Co. Land Records, Misc., Bk. E7, 90.

Ceramic Menders and Decorators in Charleston, South Carolina, Before 1820.

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

The art of the ceramic mender in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries basically has been ignored in ceramics literature.[1] That a fragile object was brought back to life by someone with this skill is often dismissed in descriptions as "extensively damaged and repaired" or "cracked across and repaired"; nothing like "skillfully mended with brass clasps" or "mended in a manner of the highest technique with silver rivets" has ever been recorded. Another skill that often resides in obscurity is ceramics decorating, which enhanced ceramic bodies according to the tastes of their purchasers. This art often is relegated to terms such as "the atelier of," or the "palette of," or "after." It is unfortunate that these ornamenters did not have the opportunity to sign their canvasses so that discussions of decorated ceramics could include characterizations like "decorated by the skilled hand of" or "embellished by."

Ceramic decorators and ceramic menders are not often mentioned together in present-day studies, for the work of the first is esteemed and that of the second is eschewed. However, meager but valuable evidence has emerged from early Charleston newspapers which indicates that the two trades may have been related. One of the ceramics menders working in Charleston in the mid-eighteenth century had an artistic background and a ceramics decorator working about the same time also tried to become involved in porcelain manufacture; it is possible that he may have known how to mend china. Also, a Charleston painter advertised that he sold cement for mending pottery. A short discussion of these records should benefit archaeologists, curators, collectors, and ceramic historians and is offered here for their consumption.

"He likewise works in jewelry, and clasps broken china in the neatest manner, which is a work never done here before." So James Rutherford ended his November 1751 Charleston advertisement, after revealing that he had "just arrived from *Edinburgh*" and that he was "a regular-bred gold and silversmith" who made and mended "all kind of plate, and other work in his business, after the best and newest fashions." This silversmith, whose business was "in the shop of *Mr. William Bissett's*, Taylor, in *Church-Street*, next door to Mr. *Manigault's*," had discovered that his sideline, ceramics mending, was new to Charleston.[2] His announcement is all that is known of him, and the trade was not mentioned again until the publication of two 1764 advertisements. However, in 1763, Benjamin Hawes, a coachmaker, painter, glazier, and plumber did offer, among other artists' materials, "a fine cement for joining of china or glass," an indication that, like today, cement was used for ceramics repair either instead of or in addition to clasps or rivets.[3]

On 19 November 1764, Jacob Proby, a brazier in partnership with Solomon Proby, announced a move from King Street to the corner of Broad and Meeting Streets and described, in detail, their "kinds of [brass] Founders work." In addition, the Probys claimed "they likewise mend and tin copperkettles, and mend china; and give the best price for old copper, brass pewter, &c." On the same day, Benjamin Frost, a coppersmith who apparently had just arrived from Philadelphia, announced his shop on Church Street and described his abilities as a maker and seller of all sorts of copperwork. At the end of his notice was the information that "At said shop, China of all kinds is rivited in the neatest manner, with silver or brass; and the market price given for brass pewter or lead."[4] Two years later, another Proby, John, who was located at "The SIGN of the TEA-KETTLE and CANDLESTICK, in BROAD-STREET," expressed his desire for "old Copper, Brass, Lead, and Pewter," adding that he made and mended "all the above-mentioned Ware," and performed "the Tinning Business, and mending of China, at the lowest Rates, and quickest Dispatch."[5]

On 21 July 1767, Maria Warell announced her intention to leave "this province" and for those indebted to her to settle their accounts. Included in her announcement was the information that "while she waits for a passage, will be much obliged to those who will employ her, in mending in the neatest and most durable manner, all sorts of useful and ornamental china, viz. beckers, tureens, jars, vases, bust's; statues, either in china, glass, plaster, bronze, or

marble." Maria was related either by blood or marriage to an artist known only as Warwell or Warell who was advertising in Charleston as early as 21 January 1766 and who died in 1767.[6]

Undoubtedly she had been in Charleston since January 1766, the date of the artist's advertisement, and she probably had been practicing her trade since her arrival. Most importantly, her advertisement was the first in Charleston to mention the repair of ceramics by replacing their missing or broken parts: "should a piece be wanting, she will substitute a composition in its room, and copy the pattern as nigh as possible." She gave her residence as "near Mrs. Wright's house on the Hard, Trott's Point," undoubtedly the same location given by Warell a year earlier.[7] On 8 September Maria advertised that "she continues MENDING CHINA, in the latest and most durable Manner, and sells the Cement in Jelly-pots, from *Twenty Shillings* to *Five Pounds*: it may be had of any colour, and Directions are given how to use and preserve it."[8] Unfortunately, there are no other records of Maria Warell or her occupation in South Carolina.

Two years later, on 5 December 1769, another Londoner and one of Charleston's earliest ceramics decorators, appeared on the Charleston scene.[9] He was William Lesley, a "DRAWING-MASTER" who had "opened his DRAWING SCHOOL, in Elliott-Street, next door to Mr. Beghie's [?]," where he intended "to Teach Drawing in all its various Branches," He ended his notice with the addendum that "He takes Ladies and Gentlemen in Minature."[10] This advertisement and those appearing in early 1770 did not mention his decorating ceramics, but stressed his drawing abilities. One informed public that "Mr. LESLEY'S Lot of Drawings" would be auctioned at the bookshop of Nicholas Langford "on the Bay."[11] However, a 15 May 1770 announcement indicated that he was by no means limiting his interests to drawing. It began with an enumeration of the items to be sold at Nicholas Langford's—"FIFTY BEAUTIFUL DRAWINGS, of Flowers, Fruit, Birds, Beasts, Landskips, etc. exquisitely coloured after Life, and executed by Mr. LESLEY. The whole to be divided into about fifteen LOTS, most have Mahogany or Black and Gold Frames"—with the information that "A printed List of the Lots, will be distributed two days before the Sale." He then appended the following: "Mr LESLEY begs Leave to inform the PUBLIC, but more particularly *the Curious*, that as it may be two or three Months before he can receive from *England*, all the necessary Articles

towards carrying into Execution his intended Establishment of a CHINA MANUFACTORY in this Town, so he will engage during that Interval, to make Draughts of Particular Plants, Flowers, Birds, etc. that any Gentleman or Lady be desirous of, the which he will also perform on Silk, etc."[12] It is extraordinary that the intended establishment of a "CHINA MANUFACTORY" was treated in such an offhand manner. Although no records connect Bartlam and Lesley, it also seems more than coincidental that Lesley's interest in a Charleston pottery occurred at the same time that Bartlam received monies toward his Charleston pottery, which would open in October 1770. In September 1770, Lesley married "Mrs. Mary Stokes, Widow of the Rev. Mr. Stokes."[13] On 23 October 1770, Lesley announced that: "the Death of Mr. Jackson, obliges him to give up all Thoughts of a CHINA MANUFACTURY, which they intended to establish in Charles-Town: therefore he repeats this former Advertisement, of Teaching Ladies and Gentlemen DRAWING and PAINTING, in as genteel a Taste as any Artist in England, or elsewhere; He also paints and teaches on Silks, etc. and takes Birds, Flowers, and Plants from Nature, for any Gentleman curious therein." He then revealed another side of his abilities: "he also paints on China and the Cream coloured Ware Gentlemen's Coat of Arms, or any Patterns they choose, equal to any Paintings in Europe."[14] Thus, we see that Charleston's earliest ceramics decorator had wide artistic background. It is also interesting that he mentioned "China and the Cream-coloured Ware," which were the same ceramics types that Bartlam insinuated that he made.

Following this advertisement, there were several others relating to Lesley. His wife ran a boarding school for girls and in December 1770 and November 1771, Lesley offered to instruct her students in the arts of drawing and painting at their house in Tradd Street of Mr. Pringle's.[15] On 28 October 1774 the Lesleys announced their intention to "leave this Province early in the Spring" and that later in December 1774 their household goods would be sold by "Mr. Prioleau, Jun." at their house "in Broad Street." Among these were a spinet, a guitar, and evidence of Lesley's talents: "several pieces of good PAINTINGS in Oil and Watercolours, particularly a set of twelve Birds of this Country taken from the Life, several Sets of Pencils and different Paints, a very handsom new fashioned Piece of China on a double gilt Stand, called a Bacchat [Bacchus] to hold Punch or Wine, and has never been used" and seven house slaves. These were followed by a truly fine description of what Lesley

undoubtedly painted: "Between twenty and thirty Sets of Jars and Beakers painted beautifully in Birds, Flowers and Fruit, which Jars and Beakers will be sold very reasonably to any Person taking the whole."

This advertisement raises a number of questions. What was a set? Could it have been four, perhaps for a mantel? If so, the volume would have been considerable. Assuming Lesley painted these, did he execute them for retail? What were they like? Were they china or creamware? If an example of this work should emerge from a collection, how can it be discerned from factory products? Did he obtain what he decorated from a merchant in a plain finish or was the "China and Cream coloured Ware" obtained locally for him to decorate? Could he have been employed by John Bartlam? Further, was the decoration in overglaze or underglaze colors? Was he decorating the bodies of "China and Cream coloured Ware" and then firing them in Bartlam's kiln? Although the chronology of Lesley's decorating venture corresponds with Bartlam's Charleston period, it is disappointing that the two never mentioned each other. It is possible that Lesley was a piece worker paid by Bartlam to work in his own dwelling and not in the Manufactury.

It is possible that the Lesleys did not leave Charleston, although there were no more advertisements, for on 21 August 1800 a "Mrs. Ann Lesley, wife of William Lesley, esq." died; she was survived by her husband and ten children.[16] Lesley's notices were the last eighteenth-century records of ceramics decorators and menders in Charleston. It was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that any were again mentioned in Charleston documents.

In 1813 John Austin, silversmith, advertised in *A Directory of the City and District of Charleston* that "Harvey Bascom's patent Cement" was available at his jewelry store at 90 Broad Street, "and no where else in this city, having purchased the patent right." The announcement included an additional note: "China, Alabaster ornaments and Glass-ware, mended in the neatest manner, not perceptable."[17] Three years later, on 8 June 1816, John Leydic, of whom nothing else is known, made the following pronouncement:

> Porcelain Store. JOHN LEYDIC, Painter and Gilder on Porcelain, informs the public, that he has just opened his Store, at No. 123, corner of Bedon's Alley and Tradd street, where he has for sale, Tea and Coffee Sets of Porcelain, Painted and Gilded Vases, Flower Pots, and a large assortment of elegant Ornaments. Merchants wishing to

> purchase, will meet with great bargains. Any person purchasing Vases with scutcheon, or unpolished, may have Painted or Gilded their Coat of Arms, or Initials in Group. He has also entered in Copartnership with Mr. GODFREY, who will undertake all kinds of Painting, such as Ornament for houses, Figures, Signs, &c. in the newest fashion, will also teach Drawing; nothing will be spared on their part to give general satisfaction, as much in the elegance of their work, as in their punctuality; They warrent the solidity of their Painting and Gilding.[18]

Leydic apparently had tremendous potential. He offered to decorate, at no extra cost, any "Vases with scutcheons, or unpolished" bought at his store. Scutcheons were empty shields, medallions, mantles or other armorial devices to which arms or initials could be added with an overglaze. Unpolished may have meant without a glaze or in a bisque stage. If this was so, Leydic would have needed a kiln to fire the glaze. He probably had another, small, low-fired kiln for firing the enamel colors of his overglaze. Leydic's partner was Louis Godefroy, who was listed in the 1819 Charleston directory as "Brelett & Godefroy, House & sign painters" at 81 Meeting Street and as a "painter and glazier" at 250 East Bay in the 1822 directory.

Leydic's advertisement is the last record of either ceramic decorators or menders working in Charleston before 1820. However, the *Camden Gazette* of 24 October 1816 included the following information that might have been useful to any ceramics menders still working at that time: "Chinese method of mending China. Take a piece of flint glass, beat it to a fine powder, and grind it well with the white of an egg. It joins china without rivetting, so that no art can break it in the same place. You are to observe that the composition is to be ground extremely fine." As this information was published in Camden, the last home of John Bartlam, there is the possibility that one of its readers may have mended a piece of creamware made by Bartlam in this manner.

The identification of Charleston ceramics menders and decorators in records and newspapers suggests that some of their work might still exist. However, at this writing, no known repaired objects have been recorded and only one example of what may be a Charleston ceramics decorator's work has been found. That example is a teapot that dates between 1770-80. It is represented by five sherds (fig. 1) excavated from a privy at the corner of Meeting Street and Horlbeck Alley in Charleston. The sherds are overglaze-painted

Figure 1. Creamware teapot fragments, excavated from a privy at the corner of Meeting Street and Horlbeck Alley in Charleston. An unusual vivid overglaze polychrome painting is present on all five sherds. Sherd in lower left corner: WOA 1 3/8". Sherd in upper right corner: HOA 4 1/4". Courtesy of the Charleston Museum. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-10,737.

or enamelled in a palette of dark green leaves with a mintlike stem on the shoulder and brown scrolling foliage shaded with black on the drum body (fig. 1a). The latter decoration is accented with yellow, black, and red and suggests a stylistic floral or fruit design. Some of the oval leaves have a painted line on one side that may have been an attempt to add depth to the decoration. The body of the teapot was a pale, refined creamware; it appears to have had a single-handle attachment. Some of its paint was lost.

Figure 1a. Teapot body sherd, showing the leaves, mintlike stems, and scrolling foliage overglaze decoration.

There is a possibility that this teapot was a product of Bartlam's kiln, perhaps decorated by a local artist like Lesley; however, there is no strong evidence to warrant such an attribution. It is most likely that the decoration was applied in Charleston, for there are no recorded examples of English creamware with this type of decoration. It is hoped that future understanding and knowledge of the ceramics decorator's art practiced in Charleston will be enhanced by the discovery of a signed or otherwise strongly-attributed example.

Although there are no recorded pieces of repaired ceramics with Charleston histories, the study collection of a modern ceramics restorer includes examples of ceramics repair that illustrate several techniques probably used in Charleston in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[19] These pieces demonstrate the use of three types of ceramics mending: brass riveting, iron riveting, and lacing.

Brass was the best riveting material. Brass rivets were used to repair the base (fig. 2) and body of a Ch'ien Lung (1736-95) *famille rose* porcelain bowl that dates about 1770. These rivets were placed only on the exterior of the bowl. It is not known when this example was restored, but it is possible that its mender was a brass founder.

Figure 2. Base of a Ch'ien Lung (1736-95) famille rose *Chinese porcelain bowl, c. 1770. This bowl has been mended with brass rivets, visible in center of the base, as well as along the body. Base diameter 5 1/4", staple length 1/2". Collection of Jim McNeil. MRF S-15,462.*

The use of iron rivets generally indicates that the ceramics repairer was not a brass worker, but rather a tinsmith or some other related tradesman. Iron rivets used to repair a French *faience* plate made in the first quarter of the nineteenth century can be seen on the back (fig. 3) of the plate, and the oxidation of the rivets is visible. The rivets were used only on the back of the plate; its restoration date also is not known.

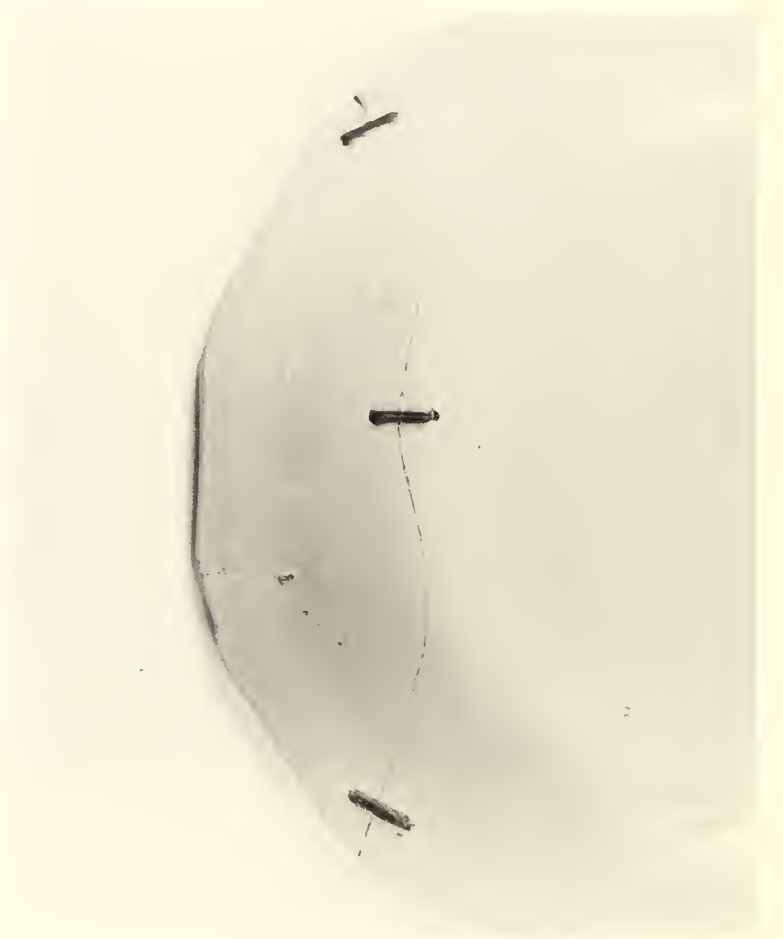


Figure 3. Underside of a French faience *plate, first quarter of the nineteenth century. Three iron rivets used to mend this plate are visible. The rivets only appear on the back of the plate. Plate diameter 9 1/2, staple length 5/8". Collection of Bradshaw and Whelan. MRF S-15,463.*

The method of repair known as lacing was accomplished by drilling holes through the object, looping small gauge wire through two holes at a time, and soldering the ends. This technique can be seen on the rim (fig. 4) of a Chinese porcelain plate with underglaze blue decoration that dates about 1770 and was repaired in the nineteenth century. This particular example of lacing lacks refinement. Its missing parts were supplemented by soldering, clearly the work of a tinsmith or tinkerer. Lacing was not an effective repair if the object was intended to hold liquids, nor was it the most attractive manner of mending objects.

Figure 4. Underside of a rim of a Chinese porcelain plate, c. 1770. This plate was repaired in the nineteenth century with lacing. Missing parts also were soldered, which can be seen in two places. Plate diameter 8 3/4", lace length 1/2". Collection of Bradshaw and Whelan. MRF S-14,464.

Other examples of mended ceramics reside in private collections and museum storage areas; however, they are rarely available for study, and their histories are sketchy at best. Therefore, little is known about the times or origins of their repairs. Perhaps archaeology at Charleston and other Low Country sites in the future will uncover examples of locally-repaired ceramics that can be dated. Until more is known about the mending methods and whether they varied depending on the location of the repair and the time the repair was made, very few of these examples will be attributable.

FOOTNOTES

1. There are several sources for the modern-day ceramics restorer or mender working with objects made in the past. See Nigel Williams, *Porcelain Repair and Restoration* (London, 1983) and C. S. M. Parsons and F. H. Curl, *China Mending and Restoration* (London, 1963). The author only knows of one study that deals with pottery repair in the past. See Stanley South, "Archaeological Evidence of Pottery Repairing," *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1967* 2, pt. 1 (1968), 62-71.
2. *South-Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, 18 November 1751.
3. Two years later he stated that he sold "Bags of Cement for mending of china." Ibid., 18 June 1763, 8 Feb. 1765.
4. Ibid., 19 Nov. 1764. About ten months after Proby's and Frost's advertisements, the following was recorded in the register for St. Andrew's Parish: "A Poor Man, a mender of broken China who died at Doctr. Dearings [Cholmondel Dering]. Buried Septr. 9th 1765." Although St. Andrew's Parish was some miles from Charleston, it is possible that the unidentified man was Proby or Frost. It is also interesting to think that a china mender, if he was not either of the two who advertised in Charleston, had been living in such a rural area. Mabel L. Webber, "Register of St. Andrew's Parish," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 15 (1914): 44.
5. Charleston *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 1 July 1766.
6. On 21 January 1766 "Warwell" advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* that he was from London, that he was "intending to settle in this Town," and that he had "taken a House on the Point, opposite to Governor Boone's, and the next Door to Mr. Rose's, Shop-Carpenter." Calling himself a "Painter," he enumerated his repertoire as "HISTORY PIECES, ALTER PIECES, LANDSCAPES, SEA PIECES, FLOWERS, FRUIT, HERALDRY, COACHES, WINDOW BLINDS, CHIMNEY BLINDS, SKREENS, GILDING." He further offered "Pictures copied, cleansed, or mended. Rooms painted in Oil or Water, in a new Taste. Deceptive Temples, Triumphal Arches, Obelisks, Statues, &c. for Groves or Gardens." On 3 November, Warell advertised that he was finishing a "GROTESQUE FOUNTAIN of 400 weight composed of English Topazes, Amethists, and other petrifications, and builds small ones for chimnies, niches or brackets." He also offered a "collection of ANCIENT DRAWINGS" for sale. April of the following year found that "Warell, sen."

was intending to leave Charleston, and two months later he did, but not in the way he intended: "DIED . . . May 29, Mr. Warwell, sen. a noted Limner." Another Warell, identified as Michael Angelo Warell, advertised the following month, on 21 July, his intention to leave and notified all to bring in their demands and those indebted to him to settle their accounts. He did not reveal his trade. He may have been the son of Warell, senior, the limner, and Maria may have been his wife or sister. *South Carolina Gazette*, 3 Nov. 1766, 13 Apr. 1767; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 2 June 1767, 21 July 1767.

7. *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 21 July 1767.
8. Ibid., 8 Sept, 1767.
9. A Samuel Peck, "glasier and Pot Painter," mortgaged a number of utensils used for distilling to his brother John in Boston on 28 September 1753. If "Pot Painter" is a reference to ceramics decorating, it is possible that he was the earliest Charleston ceramics decorator.
10. *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 5 Dec. 1769.
11. Ibid., 20 Feb. 1770.
12. Ibid., 15 May 1770.
13. This marriage was recorded with Lessley having "James" as a first name in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Charleston, 24 Sept. 1770; *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, 27 Sept. 1770.
14. *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 23 Oct. 1770.
15. Ibid., 4 Dec. 1770, 19 Nov. 1771.
16. Charleston *Carolina Gazette*, 21 Aug. 1800.
17. The advertisement was signed "M. Austin" which could represent its being placed by his wife Mary Ann Austin; Joseph Folker, *A Directory of the City and District of Charleston...for the Year 1813* (Charleston, 1813), 127.
18. Charleston *Courier*, 8 June 1816.
19. The author wishes to thank Bradshaw and Whelan of Asheville, N. C., for supplying two of the examples illustrated in this article and Jim McNeil for supplying the third.

MESDA seeks manuscripts which treat virtually any facet of southern decorative art for publication in the JOURNAL. The MESDA staff would also like to examine any privately-held primary research material (documents and manuscripts) from the South, and southern newspapers published in 1820 and earlier.

Some back issues of the *Journal*

are available.

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